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THE INDEBTEDNESS OF SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE
TO AUGUST WILHELM VON SCHLEGEL

BY

ANNA AUGUSTA HELMHOLTZ, A. M.

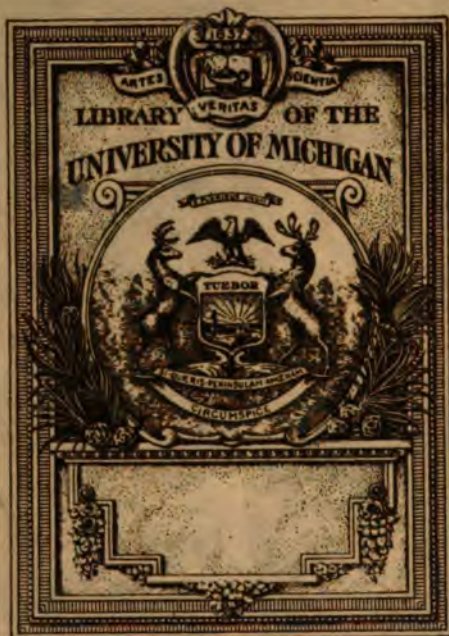
Mary M. Adams Fellow in English Literature in the University of Wisconsin

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
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PREFATORY NOTE.

The question of Coleridge's indebtedness to August Wilhelm von Schlegel has often been discussed, but with little agreement of conclusions. Those who have investigated the subject have confined themselves largely to the expression of opinions rather than to the presentation and critical examination of evidence.

It is the main object of this study to submit the evidence in the case. The method pursued is to show by quotation of parallel passages how much of Coleridge's thought on art and literature is to be found in Schlegel's work; and to determine so far as may be, how much of it he developed independently, or under influences more or less general and vague, and how much he appropriated from Schlegel.

Grateful acknowledgments are due to Professor J. F. A. Pyre under whose careful supervision the investigation has been made and who has, at all times, generously given help and advice; to Professor F. G. Hubbard whose encouraging interest and clear-sighted judgment have been an invaluable aid in the work; and to Professor E. T. Owen for stimulating criticism and helpful suggestions of various kinds.

A. A. H.

University of Wisconsin, January, 1907.

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THE INDEBTEDNESS OF SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE TO AUGUST WILHELM VON SCHLEGEL.

CHAPTER I.

PREVIOUS STATEMENTS AS TO COLERIDGE'S GENERAL INDEBTEDNESS.

Thomas De Quincey first to bring against Samuel Taylor Coleridge the charge of plagiarism. The poet died on July 25, 1834, and in September of the same year, De Quincey began a series of four articles contributed to *Tait's Magazine*, under the title of *S. T. Coleridge*.¹ In the first of these, he points out a number of sources to which Coleridge is indebted for material or suggestion. He gives Thomas Poole² the credit for first detecting Coleridge in levying tribute upon whatever suited his fancy in the realm of thought. He also calls attention to several minor borrowings of little consequence, such as a hint from Shelvocke, out of which Coleridge developed the *Ancient Mariner*, and phrases from Milton in his *France, An Ode*. The first plagiarism of any importance which he mentions is the poem entitled, *Hymn Before Sunrise in the Vale of Chamouni*,³ which Coleridge has undoubtedly translated from one on the same sub-

¹ These articles are now collected and reprinted in the Masson edition of the Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey, London, 1896; II, 140ff. The references are to Masson.

² Thomas Poole refuses to accept credit for this discovery. In a letter by him, written in 1835, he states that he never had any reason for charging Coleridge with plagiarism. *Thomas Poole and His Friends*, II, 350-6.

³ This poem first appeared in the *Morning Post*, September 11, 1802. See S., VII, 153-155. (In referring to the works of Coleridge, "S" denotes Professor Shedd's edition of the Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, New York, 1856, and "A." T. Ashe's edition of Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare by S. T. Coleridge, London, 1897.)

ject by an obscure German poetess, Frederica Brun. He has expanded the poem to several times its length, and has, as De Quincey says, "awakened the dry bones of the German outline into the fulness of life." But he nowhere acknowledges the source as Wordsworth does in an adaptation from the same authoress. On the contrary, his indication of the poem's origin seems intended to assure the reader that it was composed exclusively under inspiration.

"Poetic feelings, like the flexuous boughs
Of mighty oaks, yield homage to the gale. * * *

"That this is deep in our nature, I felt when I was on Scaffell. I involuntarily poured forth a hymn in the manner of the Psalms, though afterwards I thought the ideas, etc., disproportionate to our humble mountains. * * *"⁴

Further he has somewhat freely translated the prefatory note of Frederica Brun without a word of acknowledgement.⁵

De Quincey's most valuable contribution to the literature of this subject is his discovery that Coleridge owes a heavy debt to the writings of the German philosopher Schelling. Unfortunately, his accusation loses somewhat of its force from the fact that he misquotes the title of Schelling's work. His conclusions of the whole matter, moreover, are out of tone with the rest of the article. He advances charges in a manner which leads one to suppose that he wishes above all to see justice done to everyone; he supports them more or less correctly, but shrinks from making that straightforward accusation of plagiarism which is the inevitable outcome of such an investigation. He endeavors to varnish over the statements he has made by saying that Coleridge had no need to borrow, and that what he has taken, may be compared to the contents of a three-year old child's pockets. * * * "Stones remarkable only for their weight, old rusty hinges, nails, crooked skewers, stolen when the cook has turned her back, rags, broken glass, tea-cups, and loads of similar jewels. Such in value were the robberies of Coleridge."⁶

De Quincey's contributions provoked a defense for Coleridge

⁴ Letters, I, 404.

⁵ Max Förster, *Academy*, 49, 529 ff., first discovered that the note which always accompanied Coleridge's poem, in its various reprints, was but a translation of the German poetess' note.

⁶ De Quincey, *Works*, II, 148.

from the pen of Archdeacon J. C. Hare.⁷ His article, written from the standpoint of a warm friend and admirer, indicates that he has not regarded all the facts in their proper light. It is further colored by his slighting tone of continual reference to De Quincey as the "Opium Eater," and by the violent attack he makes upon him for trying to prove Coleridge a plagiarist. He excuses the poet by saying it is "strange" that he should borrow without acknowledgment, and accounts for it by his habit of keeping a note-book, and inserting in it, without definite reference, extracts from the books which he read, and then, in after years, forgetting which were derived from others, and which he himself had thought and written. He therefore acquits him of all suspicion of "ungenerous concealment, or intentional plagiarism." Hare also gives evidence that he was far from having all the facts of the case in hand when he asserts that the indebtedness to Schelling amounts to some "half-dozen pages,"—a statement which is by no means adequate, according to the study of Professor Ferrier.

De Quincey's article called forth still another defender, James Gillman, with whom Coleridge made his home during the last eighteen years of his life.⁸ He says,⁹ "With regard to the charge made by Mr. De Quincey, of Coleridge's so borrowing the property of other writers as to be guilty of 'petty larceny;' with equal justice might we accuse the bee which flies from flower to flower in quest of food, and which by means of an instinct bestowed upon it by the All-wise Creator, extracts its nourishment from the field and the garden, but digests and elaborates it by his own native powers. * * * Coleridge,¹⁰ who was an honest man, was equally honest in literature; and had he thought himself indebted to any other author, he would have acknowledged the same."

Gillman also mentions the *Hymn Before Sunrise in the Vale of Chamouni*, and admits that it has a German original, but asserts that Coleridge has added new thoughts, and excites differ-

⁷ British Magazine, VII, 15-27.

⁸ From 1816-1834.

⁹ Gillman, *Life*, I, 245.

¹⁰ Gillman, *Life*, I, 311.

ent feelings; that his work is, in fact, a glorification of Frederica Brun's poem.¹¹

James F. Ferrier, a professor of philosophy connected with Edinburgh University, made the next contribution¹² to the subject of Coleridge's literary appropriations. An article more remarkable in strong denunciation of Coleridge he could not well have written. His motive for attack is that he thinks it discreditable that another edition of the *Biographia Literaria* should appear without "embodying some accurate notice and admission of its very large and unacknowledged appropriations from the writings of the great German philosopher Schelling." He prefaces his research by saying that he has no desire to detract from the merits of Coleridge, or to affix a stigma upon his memory. "We are extremely unwilling to hold him guilty of any direct and intentional literary dishonesty; but it is only when we take into consideration what we believe to have been his very peculiar idiosyncrasy, that we are able to attribute to some strange intellectual hallucination a practice, which, in the case of any other man, we should have called by the stronger name of a gross moral misdemeanor. But be that as it may, we are not going to sacrifice what we conceive to be truth and justice, out of regard to the genius of any man, however high it may have been, or to the memory of any man, however illustrious or apparently unsullied it may be." Ferrier goes on to say that Coleridge's not inconsiderable metaphysical reputation is based upon verbatim plagiarisms from Schelling. These by comparison with the latter's work, he finds to mount up to nineteen pages of actual translation. Coleridge's defense of himself he particularly condemns. In order to understand Ferrier, it will be necessary to quote that defense at length.

↓ "In Schelling's *Natur-Philosophie*, and the *System des transcendentalen Idealismus*, I first found a genial coincidence with much that I had toiled out for myself, and a powerful assistance in what I had yet to do.¹³ * * * It would be but a mere act of justice to myself, were I to warn my future readers, that an identity of thought, or even similarity of phrase will not be at

¹¹ Gillman, I, 310.

¹² Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, XLVII, 287-299.

¹³ S., III, 262-6.

all times a certain proof that the passage has been borrowed from Schelling, or that the conceptions were originally learnt from him. In this instance, as in the dramatic lectures of Schlegel to which I have before alluded, from the same motive of self-defence against the charge of plagiarism, many of the most striking resemblances, indeed, all the main and fundamental ideas, were born and matured in my mind before I had ever seen a single page of the German Philosopher; and I might indeed affirm with truth, before the more important works of Schelling had been written, or at least made public. Nor is this coincidence at all to be wondered at. We had studied in the same school; been disciplined by the same preparatory philosophy, namely, the writings of Kant; we had both equal obligations to the polar logic and dynamic philosophy of Giordano Bruno; and Schelling has lately, and, as of recent acquisition, avowed that same affectionate reverence for the labors of Behmen, and other mystics, which I had formed at a much earlier period. The coincidences of Schelling's system with certain general ideas of Behmen, he declares to have been mere coincidence; while my obligations have been more direct. He needs give to Behmen only feelings of sympathy; while I owe him a debt of gratitude. God forbid! that I should be suspected of a wish to enter into a rivalry with Schelling for the honors so unequivocally his right, not only as a great and original genius, but as the founder of the Philosophy of Nature, and as the most successful improver of the Dynamic System. * * * With the exception of one or two fundamental ideas, which cannot be withheld from Fichte, to Schelling we owe the completion, and the most important victories, of this revolution in philosophy. To me it will be happiness and honor enough, should I succeed in rendering the system intelligible to my countrymen, and in the application of it to the most awful of subjects for the most important of purposes. Whether a work is the offspring of a man's own spirit, and the product of original thinking, will be discovered by those who are its sole legitimate judges, by better tests than the mere reference to dates. For readers in general, let whatever shall be found in this or any future work of mine, that resembles, or coincides with, the doctrines of my German predecessor, though contemporary, be wholly attributed to him: provided, that the absence

of distinct reference to his books, which I could not at all times make with truth as designating citations or thoughts actually derived from him; and which, I trust, would, after this general acknowledgment, be superfluous; be not charged on me as an ungenerous concealment or intentional plagiarism. * * * I regard truth as a divine ventriloquist: I care not from whose mouth the sounds are supposed to proceed, if only the words are audible and intelligible."

This defense, Professor Ferrier insists, creates an entirely false impression, namely, that the passages are not translated from Schelling, but are "genial coincidences," which, in his generosity, Coleridge gives to Schelling, while in reality, the ideas are independent with him. Even with the nineteen pages, the pith of his philosophical system, unacknowledged, Ferrier says he would feel disposed to acquit Coleridge of the charge against him, if it could be proved that he had contributed something of his own to the ideas he appropriates. But this, he maintains, cannot be done. In every instance in which remarks more than usually profound are met, they are Schelling's. He does not in the least illuminate or extend the German philosopher's system. Further, there is no indication that the coincidences between Schelling and Coleridge are the result of the English critic's pursuit of the investigation lines which Schelling had followed; on the contrary, coincidences exist only when Coleridge translates.

Ferrier ridicules particularly the penultimate sentence of Coleridge's defense in which he deprecates the charge of plagiarism, and, at the same time, attempts to make a sort of compact with the world whereby he shall be privileged to take all he wishes from Schelling without acknowledgment. He does not think any man has the right to enter such a plea as the above. "So long as these plagiarisms are undetected, this manner of wording the protest will insure to the author, (as it did to Coleridge during the whole of his life), the credit of being original, and *when* they are detected, (if that ever happens), it will give him the benefit of his protestation as a defense. The result is that the general reader will conclude that nothing could be further from Coleridge's intention than plagiarism."

Since Coleridge mentions Schlegel in his defense in the same terms as Schelling, Ferrier argues, without investigation, that

his indebtedness to the German critic is probably as great as to the German philosopher.

He finds additional cause for denunciation in the fact that Coleridge, in the *Biographia Literaria*, hints that this work should only be regarded as a mere introduction to some comprehensive theory of the imagination, the conception of which he has himself originated. He does not carry out his intention because he receives a letter from a friend advising him that the world is not sufficiently advanced for such a work. Ferrier declares that in Schelling are also intimations of some great theory of the imagination which Coleridge hoped to catch and make clear, but being unable to do so he conveniently produces an explanatory letter, purporting to come from a friend, and throws the blame of failure to complete his plans upon the immaturity of the world.

The zealous professor also indicates by parallel citations, a large indebtedness of Coleridge to Maasz, especially in Chapter V of the *Biographia Literaria*,¹⁴—and a still further borrowing for his *Lecture on Poesy or Art*¹⁵ from Schelling's *Discourse Upon the Relation in which the Plastic Arts Stand to Nature*.

In poetry itself, he notes obligations of Coleridge to Frederica Brun, Schiller, and Christian Count Stolburg. Translating from Schiller, he offers as his own, verses which admirably describe and exemplify the Homeric hexameter and the Ovidian elegiac metre. For his little poem entitled *On a Cataract*,¹⁶ he owes acknowledgment to Christain Count Stolburg.

From his examination, Ferrier concludes, as might be expected, that Coleridge has defrauded others of their due, and declares that though he be a genius of a peculiar order, and of many idiosyncrasies, he cannot be excused on that account for "deviations from the plain path of rectitude."

Sir William Hamilton, evidently basing his authority on that of Professor J. F. Ferrier, writes his accusation in similar tone,¹⁷ as follows:

¹⁴ S. III, 207-225.

¹⁵ S. IV, 328-337.

¹⁶ S. VII, 332-3; 321.

¹⁷ Sir William Hamilton, *The Works of Thomas Reid*. Edinburgh, 1846; II, 890 (note).

"To be added to my friend, Professor Ferrier's *Plagiarisms of S. T. Coleridge*, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, March, 1840. This paper is remarkable for the sagacity which tracks, through the 'Hercynian brakes' of philosophy and poetry, the footsteps of the literary reaver whose ignorance of French alone freed France from contribution. Coleridge's systematic plagiarism is perhaps, the most remarkable on record,—taking all the circumstances into account,—the foremost of which, certainly, is the natural ability of the culprit. But sooth to say, Coleridge had in him more of the ivy than the oak,—was better able to clothe than to create. The publication of his *Literary Table Talk*, etc., shows that he was in the habit of speaking, as his *Biographia*, etc., shows that he was in the habit of writing, the opinions of others as his own. * * *

"Among his other dreaming errors, Coleridge charges Hume with plagiarizing from Aquinas his whole doctrine of Association.¹⁸ But Coleridge charging plagiarism!¹⁹ 'Quis tulerit Gracchum, de seditione quarentem!'"

Ferrier's severe indictment of Coleridge was warmly resented by the poet's daughter, Sara, in what now appears as the Introduction to the *Biographia Literaria*. Naturally, her defense consists largely of excuses for her father. To the argument that he should have made definite and accurate references whenever he wished to embody ideas of others in his work, she makes answer that to give such references would have been exceedingly irksome to a man of her father's genius, and that the ideas he took, he made so thoroughly his own that he innocently confounded original entries in his note-books with passages which were mere translation. She follows here the line of Archdeacon

¹⁸ See *Blackwood's Magazine*, III, 653-657, for a discussion of this charge against Hume by Coleridge.

¹⁹ That Coleridge is capable of harshly judging others whom he suspects of literary theft is indicated by the following:

"How can I explain Schelling's strange silence respecting Jacob Boehme? The identity of his system was exulted in by the Tiecks at Rome in 1805 to me; and these were Schelling's intimate friends. The coincidence in the expressions, illustrations, and even the mystical obscurities, is too glaring to be solved by mere independent coincidence in thought and intention. Probably prudential motives restrain Schelling for a while; for I will not think that pride or a dishonest lurking desire to appear not only an original, but the original can have influenced a man of genius like Schelling." S, III, 695,

Hare's argument, whom she also quotes in support of her conclusions.

Further, she honors Coleridge for using the very words of his original, thereby showing in his neglect of all disguise that he could have had no thought of plagiarizing, but was, indeed, consistent with the principle expressed by him in his defense, that truth is a divine ventriloquist, and he cared not from whose mouth the sounds proceeded, if only the words were audible and intelligible.

In a word, Sara Coleridge, instead of admitting the charge of literary buccaneering, believes and endeavors to prove that Coleridge was prompted by chivalry and generosity in using another's language; that he had really reached, unaided, all of Schelling's ideas coincident with his own, and merely had not reduced them to articulate form. Additional excuses are his irretentive memory,²⁰ and his well-known peculiarity of confusing imagination and fact.

The suggestion of Professor Ferrier, that the *Biographia Literaria* ought not to appear again without some acknowledgment of the German sources to which Coleridge owes so much, caused Sara Coleridge to add to this work, in foot-notes, references to Schelling and others wherever she thought it necessary. She also has pointed out and quoted some passages from August Wilhelm von Schlegel's *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Litteratur* which have parallels in the *Literary Remains*,²¹ but she makes no admission of her father's great indebtedness to the German critic. With evident sincerity, many obvious borrowings she classes as "mere coincidences."

The next significant utterance in the matter of Coleridge's indebtedness to others is embodied in H. D. Traill's *Coleridge*. Traill,²² in speaking of Coleridge's Shakespearian criticism makes the following sweeping statement, evidently based on insufficient authority. "Coleridge, primus inter pares as a critic

²⁰ On the subject of Coleridge's irretentiveness of memory, Sara Coleridge is contradictory. In a note found in S, IV, 459, she says in speaking of borrowings from Schlegel for his lecture on the Greek Drama, that they were probably taken from memory. If she believed that statement to be true, it is difficult to understand how she could call his memory "irretentive."

²¹ S, IV, 457 ff.

²² Traill, Coleridge, 156.

of any order of literature, is in the domain of Shakespearian commentary absolute king. The principles of analysis which he was charged with having borrowed without acknowledgment from Schlegel, with whose Shakespearian theories he was at the time entirely unacquainted, were in fact of his own excogitation. He owed nothing in this matter to any individual German, nor had he anything in common with German Shakespearianism, except its profoundly philosophizing spirit, which, moreover, was in his case directed and restrained by other qualities, too often wanting in critics of that industrious race; for he possessed a sense of the ridiculous, a feeling for the poetic, a tact, a taste, and a judgment, which would have saved many a worthy, but heavy-handed Teutonic professor, who should have been lucky enough to own these gifts, from exposing himself and his science to the satire of the light-minded."

At the opposite pole from Ferrier, in the Coleridge controversy, stands Professor Brandl, who considers each new literary loan a phase in his intellectual development, and kindly refers to them only for their progress-making value. On the poems, which are translations without acknowledgment, he passes the verdict of carelessness.²⁸ In his defense of himself in the *Biographia Literaria*, treating of the coincidences in his work and Schelling's, Brandl says he speaks with "even exaggerated modesty." "He cannot again be made answerable for the absence of all acknowledgment toward Schlegel in the lectures printed after his death. For the rest, though he was not the discoverer of his philosophical principles, yet he showed great independence in selecting, arranging, combining, and formulating them. Coleridge was a great eclectic, and no one who conscientiously weighs his expressions will call him a plagiarist. As a theorist in philosophy, or more perhaps, aesthetics and theosophy, it was not his forte to deduce laws from facts, or even to bring them into scientific relation with facts. He had not the objectivity of an investigator. But all the more keen was his eye for every kind of subjective observation, the more freely did he bring what he observed into elegant accord with his own individual being, and

²⁸ Brandl, *Life of Coleridge*, 389 ff.

with the tendencies of the times, and all the richer was the warp with which he interwove the alien woof."

Laura Johnson Wylie,²⁴ in a scholarly dissertation on the *Evolution of English Criticism*, states that neither as a philosopher nor as a critic is Coleridge of much interest considered from the European point of view, because, "whether from dependence or coincidence, his work bears the reproach of being little more than a translation of German forms of thought into English forms of expressions. In spite of the breadth of his interests, his influence told only on England. * * * By character and temperament, he was perhaps best fitted for the office of translator and transmitter. The charge of plagiarism was inevitable in the case of an author who drew his knowledge from such various sources as did Coleridge, and who made so unconscious and impersonal a use of the ideas that fell in his way." Miss Wylie accepts Coleridge's protestation of independence, and does not pursue the question of plagiarism further, concluding in her indirect answer to the problem with the oft-quoted utterance of Coleridge that "truth is a divine ventriloquist."

Perhaps the fairest and the most accurate answers to this puzzle is given by Professor Herford.²⁵ He points out in some detail, as does Professor Brandl, the indebtedness of Coleridge in his criticism to German writers, but includes a warning against exaggerating his subserviency to others. He admits, however, that in his criticism of Shakespeare he followed their "more articulate formulation of ideas." He is the first to give Schlegel his due when he calls him "Coleridge's master."²⁶

John Louis Haney,²⁷ in a thesis entitled the *German Influence on Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, takes exception to the statement of Herford that Schlegel is "Coleridge's master." He would rather apply this enviable title to Lessing, who first taught the English critic to view Shakespeare and his art from a correct and liberal standpoint. He admits that Coleridge did not disdain to borrow an occasional thought from Schlegel without

²⁴ Wylie, *Evolution of English Criticism*, 164-5.

²⁵ Herford, *Age of Wordsworth*, 84-88.

²⁶ Herford, *Age of Wordsworth*, 77.

²⁷ Haney, *German Influence on Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 34-35.

acknowledgment of his obligation, but he thinks it entirely credible that the two critics developed their ideas simultaneously, and without direct relation. His conclusions are suggestive:²⁸ "Coleridge's indebtedness to German writers is two-fold, embracing his literary obligation to Lessing, Schiller, and Schlegel, and his philosophical affiliations with Kant, Fichte and Schelling. The influence of Gessner, Bürger, and even Jean Paul was comparatively slight. How much of his criticism Coleridge owed to Schlegel is difficult to determine. Under the stress of the charge of plagiarism, Coleridge asserted an independence of Schlegel which he could only partly substantiate. On the other hand, in developing the general ideas indicated by Lessing, both critics would naturally coincide in certain utterances, with no nearer interdependence than their common obligation to Lessing.

Schiller's influence belonged principally to Coleridge's earlier years and suffered a speedy eclipse. This revulsion of feeling is easily explained by the fact that Coleridge knew only the Schiller of the revolutionary dramas, and before he visited Germany he had passed into a more conservative state of existence. Lessing exerted the strongest of purely literary influences on Coleridge, affording him a substantial basis for his subsequent Shakespeare criticism. The influence of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling is manifest throughout Coleridge's philosophical utterances. At times he sought to deny any indebtedness to German thinkers, but his familiarity with their principal works is beyond question."

²⁸ Haney, *The German Influence on Coleridge*, 40-41.

CHAPTER II.

COLERIDGE'S LECTURE COURSES.

Coleridge's year of study abroad profoundly modified his intellectual development.²⁹ It has been well said that he went a poet and returned a critic.³⁰ Certain it is, that though he wrote some exquisite poetry after 1799, his interest was centered in æsthetics and philosophy. But however deep his devotion to these, it could not arouse him to produce more than noble fragments of an æsthetic and philosophic system. From the time of his return from Germany to the end of his life, his letters frequently mention, now a projected work on the principles of poetry, now the translation of some German book, now the life and criticism of some German poet, but only one result,—his translation of *Wallenstein*,—was ever achieved. If he had not taken up the role of public lecturer, it is safe to say that England would be without a body of literary criticism of which the vital influence or thought-engendering power cannot be questioned.

Thanks to the efforts of Sir Humphrey Davy,³¹ after much delay, the first of Coleridge's lecture courses was delivered at the Royal Institution in the winter and spring of 1808. Any knowledge of these lectures is important in a study of Coleridge's obligations, because he especially refers to them a number of times in defending himself against the charge of plagiarism, asserting that in them he made use of all the main and fundamental ideas which Schlegel applies in his *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Litteratur*. In a letter to Davy written September 11, 1807,³² Coleridge indicates the plans of

²⁹ Coleridge was in Germany from September, 1798, until July, 1799.

³⁰ Haney, *The German Influence on Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 89.

³¹ Thomas Poole and his Friends, II, 198.

³² Letters, II, 515-16.

the course which he intended to follow. These, unfortunately, cannot be counted as remains, because of his peculiarity of almost never following out his purposes. They are interesting, however, as showing his power of working out magnificent conceptions, even in detail, and indicate to some little extent his progress in criticism.

The letter reads as follows:

"I have seriously set about composition with a view to ascertain whether I can conscientiously undertake what I so very much wish, a series of Lectures at the Royal Institution. * * * The principles of poetry, conveyed and illustrated in a series of lectures. 1. On the genius and writings of Shakespeare, relatively to his predecessors and contemporaries, so as to determine not only his merits and defects, and the proportion that each must bear to the whole, but what of his merits and defects belong to his age, as being found in contemporaries of genius, and what belonged to himself. 2. On Spenser, including the metrical romances, and Chaucer, though the character of the latter as a manner-painter I shall have so far anticipated in distinguishing it from, and comparing it with, Shakespeare. 3. Milton. 4. Dryden and Pope, including the origin and after history of poetry and witty logic. 5. On Modern Poetry and its characteristics, with no introduction of any particular names. In the course of these, I shall have said all I know, the whole result of many years' continued reflection on the subjects of taste, imagination, fancy, passion, the source of our pleasures in the fine arts, in the antithetical balance-loving nature of man, and the connection of such pleasures with moral excellence. The advantage of this plan to myself is, that I have all my materials ready, and can rapidly reduce them into form (for this is my solemn determination, not to give a single lecture till I have in fair writing at least one half of the whole course), for as to trusting anything to immediate effort, I shrink from it as from guilt, and guilt in me it would be."

No reports of these lectures have come down to us except a few notes by H. Crabb Robinson which are preserved in his *Diary*, and two letters which he wrote to Mrs. Clarkson.²²

²² *S.* IV, 220-7, and Robinson, *Diary*, etc., I, 140-1.

Brandl³⁴ quotes Robinson thus: "His lectures adopted in all respects the German doctrines, clothed with original illustrations and adapted to an English audience." Brandl's study of these scant remains leads him to the conclusion that they offer traces of Herder's *Ideen Zur Philosophie der Geschichte*, Kant's *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, especially Nos. 19, 69, and 93, and Schiller's *Naive und Sentimentalische Dichtung*.

Coleridge conducted these early lectures with an irregularity which was typical. He did not follow his plan developed so elaborately in his letter to Davy, nor did he finish the course, owing to sickness³⁵ and other causes, until the first weeks of June, 1808. De Quincey, who attended some of them, reports them quite unfavorably.³⁶

Coleridge's second course of lectures was delivered during the winter of 1811-12, from the 18th of November to the 27th of January, at the hall of the London Philosophical Society. The series, originally designed for fifteen lectures, was extended to seventeen. It deals, in its introduction, with the principles of poetry in general, and later, mainly with Shakespeare. J. Payne Collier took short-hand notes of six of these and part of another, which, however, were lost to the world until 1856, when they were accidentally discovered by him and transcribed.³⁷ Collier also kept a diary in which he records several of Coleridge's conversations in the year 1811, which treat of Shakespeare's characters, judgment, genius, and of the dramas in general.³⁸ Brandl³⁹ finds in these fragments several advances in Coleridge's aesthetic development. The influence of Lessing, Kant, Schiller and Herder is passing away, and Jean Paul Richter's *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (1804) takes the leading place. Another work which also influenced him was Maasz's *Versuche über die Einbildungskraft*, which writer Ferrier asserts Cole-

³⁴ Brandl, 296-7. Brandl had access to letters and other material of Robinson not published in the Sadler edition (1872) of H. Crabb Robinson's Diary.

³⁵ Wordsworth, Works, ed., Knight, X, 113.

³⁶ De Quincey, Works, II, 189-90.

³⁷ The notes of these lectures are collected in T. Ashe's edition of Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare, London, 1897.

³⁸ A, 8-19.

³⁹ Brandl, 315-17.

ridge has translated without acknowledgment in Chapter Five of the *Biographia Literaria*. To him he owes, according to Brandl,⁴⁰ his extreme valuation of genius as compared with talent. To Jean Paul he is indebted for his distinction between fancy and imagination, and his statement that the fools⁴¹ of Shakespeare's plays hold a position analogous to that of the chorus in the Greek tragedies. The ideas which he has gained from these two Germans are the basis on which he builds for the first eight lectures of his series of 1811-12.⁴² "With far more decision did Coleridge now proclaim the view of the Romantic school than in 1808."⁴³

Before he delivered his ninth lecture, he had the opportunity of seeing August Wilhelm von Schlegel's *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Litteratur*, delivered in Vienna in the spring of 1808 and published in 1809-11. During his next lecture, Coleridge made the following remark:⁴⁴ "Yesterday afternoon a friend left a book for me by a German critic, of which I have only had time to read a small part; but what I did read I approved, and I should be disposed to applaud the work much more highly, were it not that in so doing I should, in a manner, applaud myself. The sentiments and opinions are coincident with those to which I gave utterance in my lectures at the Royal Institution. It is not a little wonderful, that so many ages have elapsed since the time of Shakespeare, and that it should remain for foreigners first to feel truly, and to appreciate justly, his mighty genius." On another occasion, he speaks more unreservedly on the subject of Schlegel and his aesthetic criticism, as Robinson testifies in a letter to Sara Coleridge.⁴⁵ "If all the comments that have been written on Shakespeare by his editors could have been collected into a pile and set on fire, that by that blaze Schlegel might have written his lectures, the

⁴⁰ Brandl, 317.

⁴¹ Robinson, *Diary*, etc., I, 167; Brandl, 316.

⁴² Robinson, *Diary*, etc., I, 181. "I have a German friend who attends also," says Robinson, "and who is delighted to find the logic and rhetoric of his country delivered in a foreign language. There is no doubt that Coleridge's mind is much more German than English. My friend has pointed out striking analogies between Coleridge and German writers Coleridge has never seen."

⁴³ Brandl, 320.

⁴⁴ A, 126-7.

⁴⁵ S, IV, 479.

world would have been equally a gainer by the books destroyed and the book written." Coleridge's hearty approval of Schlegel's views on dramatic art and literature manifests itself immediately in extensive borrowings from the German critic, as will be shown later.

The lectures of 1811-12 were so successful that Coleridge soon after began another course on Shakespeare, with an introduction on poetry in general. The substance of only four of this course has been preserved by Crabb Robinson.⁴⁶ From these meagre remains,—scarcely more than a list of headings,—it is easy to detect the influence of Schlegel in the distinction between the ancient and modern literature, and in his discussion of the Greek drama, both tragedy and comedy. Of the third lecture Robinson says:⁴⁷ "The lecture itself excellent, and very German," and of the fourth,⁴⁸ "The mode of treating the subject very German, and of course, much too abstract for his audience, which was thin."

Notwithstanding the failure of this course of lectures, Coleridge began a fourth in December, 1812. Brandl⁴⁹ says a syllabus of this series exists among Robinson's papers, but he does not include it in his work. Robinson himself says nothing of them beyond the fact that the last one was received with great applause.⁵⁰ The observation Brandl⁵¹ makes from the syllabus is as follows: "Altogether it was fortunate for Coleridge that he had found a rich store of materials in Germany of which his hearers, Mr. Robinson excepted, knew just nothing. Even in his second series of lectures he had repeated many an observation from the first. In these last, he seems to have crowded together all he had ever gathered from all his different teachers."

In 1813-14, Coleridge repeated to audiences of Bristol friends his lectures of 1811-12,—modified and increased by appropriations from Schlegel.⁵² From all that is known of them, they

⁴⁶ Robinson, *Diary*, etc., I, 200-2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 201.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 202.

⁴⁹ Brandl, 326.

⁵⁰ Robinson, *Diary*, etc., I, 212.

⁵¹ Brandl, 327.

⁵² The date 1814, enters as the title of these lectures because in that year, Coleridge delivered a course on Milton. There are no remains. A, 457.

could not have been very successful, but as nearly all their substance is repeated in his series of 1818, the fact that little remains of them causes no regret.

Theology, instead of aesthetics, now began to absorb Coleridge. Circumstances⁵³ nevertheless, compelled him again to mount the lecture platform on January 27, 1818. The course which he then began consisted of fourteen lectures.⁵⁴ Gillman⁵⁵ states that Coleridge himself thought them the most profitable he had ever given, although they were delivered in "an unfavorable situation * * * near the Temple." In this series, "he lectured from notes which he had carefully made, yet it was obvious, that his audience was more delighted when putting his notes aside, he spoke extempore."

After the completion of this course, which closed his career as a lecturer,⁵⁶ Coleridge buried himself in theology by means of which he hoped that all problems of human knowledge and society might be solved. The plan⁵⁷ to incorporate his literary criticism in three volumes of five hundred pages each, like many other of his projects, came to naught. Brief, though suggestive notes and reports of his thoughts and lectures on authors and their works are all that remain.

⁵³ Brandl, 357-9.

⁵⁴ S., IV.

⁵⁵ Gillman, *Life*, I, 335.

⁵⁶ This statement must be qualified by the remark that Coleridge did, after 1818, deliver two separate lectures, one on the Growth of the Individual Mind, and the other on the Promethens of Aeschylus.

⁵⁷ Thomas Allsop, *Letters*, etc., London, 1858, 80-1.

CHAPTER III.

PARALLEL PASSAGES FROM COLERIDGE AND
SCHLEGEL.⁵⁶

1. THE LECTURES OF 1808.

Since Coleridge did not see Schlegel's *Vorlesungen* until after the eighth lecture of the 1811-12 series,⁵⁷ it is possible, to a certain extent, to test the truth of his own assertions that he was possessed of all the "main and fundamental ideas" applied by Schlegel before he had seen a page of the German critic's work. A comparison of the remains of these two courses with the *Vorlesungen* will yield the coincidences which appear in the two critics, and which are indispensable to a just estimate of Coleridge's indebtedness to Schlegel. The quotations follow.

"High moral feeling is to be deduced from, though it is not in, Shakespeare, for the sentiment of his age was less pure than that of the preceding. Not a *vicious* passage in all Shakespeare, though there are many which are gross. Shakespeare surpasses all poets, 1st, in the purity of his female character."—S, IV, 225.

"Es ist wahr, Shakspeare bringt uns zuweilen in anstössige Gesellschaft; andre Male lässt er Zweideutigkeiten in Gegenwart der Frauen oder gar von ihnen selbst sagen. Diess war also vermuthlich ein damals nicht unerhörter Muthwille. Dem grossen Haufen zu gefallen that er es gewiss nicht, denn in vielen seiner Stücke kommt nicht das Mindeste dieser Art vor, und in welcher zarten Jungfräulichkeit sind manche

⁵⁶ Schlegel is referred to by volume and page, denoting Eduard Böcking's edition of August Wilhelm von Schlegel's complete works. Leipzig, 1846.

⁵⁷ Internal evidence shows this to be true. The point will be taken up in a later section.

seiner weiblichen Rollen gehalten!"
—VI, 172.

"Weit wichtiger ist der Vorwurf, Shakspeare beleidige das Gefühl durch unverhüllte Schilderung der ekelhaftesten moralischen Hässlichkeit, zerreisse schonungslos die Gemüther, und empöre selbst die Augen durch unerträglich grässliche Schauspiele. Er hat in der That niemals die wilden blutdürstigen Leidenschaften mit einem gefälligen Aeussern überfirnisst, niemals die Bosheit mit einem falschen Schimmer von Seelengrösse bekleidet, und dafür ist er in alle Wege zu loben."—VI, 193.

"Shakespeare's observation was preceded by contemplation." He first conceived what the forms of things must be, and then went humbly to the oracle of nature to ask whether he was right. He inquired of her as a sovereign: he did not gossip with her. Shakespeare describes feelings which no observation could teach. Shakespeare made himself all characters—he left out parts of himself, and supplied what might have been in himself—nothing was given him but the canvass"⁸⁰—S, IV, 225.

"Man giebt zu, Shakspeare habe über Charakter und Leidenschaft über den Gang der Begebenheiten und menschliche Schicksale, über die gesellige Verfassung, über alle Dinge und Verhältnisse der Welt gedacht und tief gedacht."—VI, 183.

"Shakespeares Menschenkenntniss ist zum Sprichworte geworden; seine Ueberlegenheit hierin ist so gross, dass man ihn mit Recht den Herzenskündiger genannt hat. Die Fertigkeit, auch die feineren unwillkürlichen Aeusserungen des Gemüths zu bemerken, und die durch Erfahrung und Nachdenken herausgebrachte Bedeutung dieser Zeichen mit Sicherheit anzugeben, macht den Menschen-Beobachter; der Scharfsinn, hieraus noch weiter zu schliessen, und einzelne Angaben nach Gründen der Wahr-

⁸⁰See Lessing. Werke, IV, 811-12 for the part contemplation plays in depicting character

scheinlichkeit zu einem bündigen Zusammenhange zu ordnen, den Menschenkenner. Die auszeichnende Eigenschaft des im Charakteristischen grossen dramatischen Dichters ist etwas hievon noch ganz Verschiednes, das aber, wie man es nehmen will, entweder jene Fertigkeit und jenen Scharfsinn in sich fasst, oder beider überhebt. Es ist die Fähigkeit, sich so vollkommen in alle Arten zu sein, auch die fremdesten, zu versetzen, dass ihr Besitzer dadurch in den Stand gesetzt wird, als Bevollmächtigter der gesammten Menschheit, ohne besondere Instruktionen für den einzelnen Fall, im Namen eines Jeden zu handeln und zu reden. Es ist die Gewalt, die Geschöpfe seiner Einbildungskraft mit so selbständigem Nachdruck auszustatten, dass sie sich nachher nach allgemeinen Naturgesetzen in jedem Verhältniss entwickeln, und dass der Dichter an seinen Träumen gleichsam Erfahrungen anstellt, die eben so gültig sind, als die an wirklichen Gegenständen gemachten."—VI, 186–7.

"The Grecian Mythology exhibits the symbols of the powers of nature and Hero-worship blended together."—Robinson, *Diary*, etc., I, 140.

"* * * Die griechische Mythologie war ein Gewebe nationaler und örtlicher Ueberlieferungen, gleich verehrt als ein Anhang der Religion, und eine Vorrede der Geschichte; überall durch Gebräuche und Denkmäler in volkmässiger Lebendigkeit erhalten. * * * Als Wesen von übermenschlicher Kraft

wurden jene Helden geschildert."⁶¹
 —V, 79-80. (See also V, 73, "Die griechischen Götter sind blosse Naturmächte;")

2. DRAMATIC CRITICISM FROM THE DIARY OF J. PAYNE COLLIER, 1811.⁶²

"Falstaff was no coward, but pretended to be one merely for the sake of trying experiments on the credulity of mankind: he was a liar with the same object, and not because he loved falsehood for itself. He was a man of such pre-eminent abilities, as to give him a profound contempt for all those by whom he was usually surrounded, and to lead to a determination on his part, in spite of their fancied superiority, to make them his tools and dupes. He knew, however low he descended, that his talents would raise him and extricate him from any difficulty. While he was thought to be the greatest rogue, thief, and liar, he still had that about him which could render him not only respectable, but absolutely necessary to his companions."—A, 8.

"* * * Falstaff ist der angenehmste und unterhaltendste Taugenichts, der je geschildert worden. Seine verächtlichen Eigenschaften werden nicht verkleidet; alt und lachel lüstern und liederlich; übermässig wohlbeleibt und immer darauf bedacht, sich durch Speise und Trank und Schlaf zu pflegen; beständig in Schulden und wenig gewissenhaft in der Wahl der Mittel um sich Geld zu verschaffen; ein feiger Soldat und ein lügenhafter Prahler; ein Schmeichler und eine böse Zunge hinter dem Rücken seiner Freunde, erregt er dennoch niemals Unwillen. Man sieht, dass seine zärtliche Besorgniss für ihn selbst ohne alle Beimischung von Tücke gegen Andre ist; nur in der behaglichen Ruhe seiner Sinnlich-

⁶¹It will be remarked, and justly, that the passages quoted from Schlegel are hardly perfect correspondence, for the German critic expresses his ideas in different contexts, and to enforce different points. Yet it must be felt that Coleridge is thinking along the same lines as Schlegel, although the latter does so in a far more certain and definite manner,—in a manner, indeed, which suggests an intimate acquaintance with sound principles of criticism, and with methods of applying them. In other words, Coleridge makes definite points of what Schlegel takes for granted as inherent in great genius, and thus mentions quite by the way. This is especially true of the second parallel quoted. The third does not properly count at all for it is historical. It expresses no "main and fundamental ideas," nor does it hint at any principle. It is a plain fact such as might have been obtained from diverse sources, and serves only to illustrate the likeness of subject matter.

⁶²Ashe, in his edition of the Lectures on Shakespeare, includes some criticisms by Coleridge from the diary of J. Payne Collier, for the year 1811. Since any information on Coleridge's opinions concerning Shakespeare and the drama is important in determining his indebtedness to Schlegel, they are included in this study.

keit will er nicht gestört werden, und diese erkaufte er durch die Geschäftigkeit seines Verstandes. * * * Unter einem unbeholfenen Aeussern verbirgt er einen äusserst gewandten Geist: er weiss geschickt einzulenken, sobald seine gewagten Spässe anfangen zu missfallen; er unterscheidet mit Scharfsinn die Personen, wo er sich um Gunst bewerben muss, und die, bei welchen er sich eine vertrauliche Ueberlegenheit anmassen darf. Er ist so überzeugt, dass die Rolle, die er spielt, nur unter dem Deckmantel des Witzes durchschlüpfen kann, dass er auch sich selbst gegenüber niemals ganz ernsthaft ist, und seinen Lebenswandel, seine Verhältnisse zu Andern und seine sinnliche Philosophie auf eine lustige Weise einkleidet"⁶³—VI, 282.

"* * * The mad scenes of the Jailor's daughter [referring to *The Two Noble Kinsmen*] are coarsely imitated from 'Hamlet,' those were by Fletcher, and so very inferior, that I wonder how he could so far condescend. Shakspeare would never have imitated himself at all, much less so badly."—A, 11.

"* * * Die Rolle der Tochter des Schliessers, deren Wahnsinn kunstlos in lauter Monologen fortgeführt wird, ist gewiss nicht von Shakspeare, man müsste denn annehmen, er habe seine Ophelia überbietend nachahmen wollen."⁶⁴ VI, 350.

⁶³This analysis of Falstaff by the two critics indicates that both have the same power of psychological penetration into character and its motives. Schlegel, however, is content to stop when he names Falstaff a coward and a liar, while Coleridge goes further and aims to show that he is so only by design.

⁶⁴Schlegel does not admit the internal evidence which gives parts of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* to Shakespeare. He says, "Konnte nicht Fletcher, der in den Gedanken und Bildern nicht selten einige Verwandtschaft mit Shakespeare zeigt, einmal das Glück gehabt haben, sich ihm mehr zu nähern als gewöhnlich?" VI, 349. Coleridge, however, says, "There is the clearest internal evidence that Shakespeare importantly aided Fletcher in the composition of it." A, 10, 11.

"Lamb led Coleridge on to speak of Beaumont and Fletcher: he highly extolled their comedies in many respects, especially for the vivacity of the dialogue, but he contended that their tragedies were liable to grave objections. They always proceeded upon something forced and unnatural; the reader never can reconcile the plot with probability, and sometimes not with possibility. * * * * Their comedies, however, were much superior, and at times, and excepting in the generalization of humor and application, almost rivalled those of Shakespere. The situations are sometimes so disgusting, and the language so indecent and immoral, that it is impossible to read the plays in private society."—A, 11, 12.

"* * * Am meisten misslingt es ihnen mit ihren tragischen Ansprüchen, weil sie das Gefühl nicht genug aus den Tiefen der menschlichen Natur schöpfen, und die Betrachtung nicht genug auf die menschlichen Schicksale im Allgemeinen hinlenken; weit vorzüglicher sind sie im Komischen, und in den ernsthaften und pathetischen Darstellungen, welche die Mitte zwischen dem Komischen und Tragischen einnehmen. Die Charaktere sind oft mit einer gewisser Willkür angelegt, und werden sich selbst ungetreu, wenn es dem Dichter nach seinen augenblicklichen Bedürfnissen bequem fällt; in der äusserlichen Erscheinung haben sie Haltung genug. * * * Die Sittlichkeit dieser Schriftsteller ist zweideutig. * * * Sie gehen über Alles gerade mit der Sprache heraus, sie machen den Zuschauer zum unwilligen Vertrauten von allem was edlere Gemüther sogar vor sich selbst verheimlichen. Was sich diese Dichter daher von Seiten der Unanständigkeit erlauben, das übersteigt alle Vorstellung."—VI, 345-7.

"Shakespere was almost the only dramatic poet, who by his characters represented a class, and not an individual: * * * * while his eye rested upon an individual character, always embraced a wide circumference of others, without diminishing the

"* * * Shakspeares ausführlich gezeichnete Personen haben unstreitig viele ganz individuelle Bestimmungen, aber zugleich eine nicht bloss für sie gültige Bedeutung: sie geben meistens eine ergründende Theorie ihrer hervorstechenden Eigenschaft an die Hand."—VI, 189.

*Lessing, Dramaturgie, No. 94, 311-12 says that this, i. e., painting individuals, who, however, represent a class, or have a wider significance, is true of the great poet, and gives Sophocles as an example.

separate interest he intended to attach to the being he portrayed; * * * * all Shakespeare's chief characters possessed, in a greater or less degree, this claim to our admiration."—A, 11.

3. THE LECTURES OF 1811-12.

It was pointed out in the first chapter of this work that the German influence on Coleridge had somewhat changed its character by 1811-12. His critical and philosophical theories were no longer dominated by Lessing, Schiller, Kant and Herder,⁶⁶ but by G. Maasz, Jean Paul Richter and Schelling. These were, in large measure, the followers of the earlier Germans mentioned above, but they had gone a step farther, and enunciated more clearly the doctrines of the aesthetic school. The work of August Wilhelm von Schlegel, which gives the most definite expression to the new aesthetic and romantic theories, Coleridge had not yet seen.⁶⁷ But he had at hand most of the material from which Schlegel built. It is not strange, then, that the coincidences in the first eight lectures should be more striking than in previous courses, and that Coleridge should not be far behind Schlegel in his eulogies on the art and genius of Shakespeare. The two critics agree in pronouncing Shakespeare a master in the portrayal of the human heart,—in declaring that the immortal English dramatist and the great Greek tragedian, Sophocles, are not to be tried by the same laws,—in justifying Shakespeare's play on words, and in the interpretation of his dramas and characters.

"The condition of the stage, and the character of the times in which our great poet flourished, must first of all be taken into account, in considering the question as to his judgment."⁶⁸—A, 52.

* * * Aber ein ächter Kenner kann man nicht sein ohne Universalität des Geistes, d. h. ohne die Biegsamkeit, welche uns in den Stand setzt, mit Verläugnung per-

⁶⁶Brandl, 315-8.

⁶⁷A, 126-7.

⁶⁸Coleridge illustrates this principle of his criticism by a particular reference to Shakespeare, while Schlegel states the general rule which must be followed when making an estimate of any writer.

sönlicher Vorliebe und blinder Gewöhnung, uns in die Eigenheiten anderer Völker und Zeitalter zu versetzen, sie gleichsam aus ihrem Mittelpunkt heraus zu fühlen, und was die menschliche Natur adelt, alles Schöne und Grosse unter den äusserlichen Zuthaten, deren es zu seiner Verkörperung bedarf, ja bisweilen unter befremdlich schei- nenden Verkleidungen zu erkennen und gehörig zu würdigen."—V, 5.

"If indeed *King Lear* were to be tried by the laws which Aristotle established,* and Sophocles obeyed, it must be at once admitted to be outrageously irregular. * * * * * I have no doubt, however, that both [i. e., Shakespeare and Sophocles] were right in their divergent courses, and that they arrived at the same conclusion by a different process. * * * * * The unities grew mainly out of the size and construction of the ancient theatres: the plays represented were made to include within a short space of time events which it is impossible should have occurred in that short space. This fact alone establishes, that all dramatic performances were then looked upon merely as ideal. * * * * * The fact that the ancient choruses

"* * * Das Pantheon ist nicht verschiedener von der Westminster-Abtei * * * * *, als der Bau einer Tragödie von Sophokles von dem eines Schauspiels von Shakspeare. * * * Aber nöthigt uns denn wirklich die Bewunderung der einen zur Geringschätzung der andern? Können wir nicht zugeben, dass jedes in seiner Art gross und wunderwürdig, wiewohl dieses ganz etwas anders ist und sein soll als jenes?"—V, 11, 12.

"* * * * Wenn nun die griechischen Tragiker besondere Gründe gehabt hätten, sich auf diesen Umfang von Zeit zu beschränken, die bei der Verfassung unsers Theaters wegfielen?"—VI, 23.

"* * * Nächst der Verfassung der alten Bühne, welche natürlich

*It is interesting to compare Lessing's idea of judging Shakespeare and Sophocles with that of Schlegel and Coleridge. The latter boldly set up a different standard for the two dramatists while the former seeks to find in Aristotle principles which will include them both. However, while declaring himself on the side of authority, he believes in a liberal interpretation of the ancients' laws, even going so far as to declare that the true critic forms his taste from rules necessitated by the nature of the subject. The suggestions of Lessing bore fruit in later critics. Consult the *Dramaturgie*, especially No. 19, 63, and Nos. 101-4, 336-7.

were always on the stage made it impossible that any change of place should be represented, or even supposed"—A, 53-54.

auf scheinbare Stätigkeit der Zeit und unveränderte Beibehaltung des Schauplatzes führte, wurde die Beobachtung dieser Gewohnheit durch die Beschaffenheit des Stoffes begünstigt, welchen die griechischen Dramatiker zu bearbeiten hatten."—VI, 32.

"Wir kommen nun auf das Wesen der griechischen Tragödie selbst. Man stimmt dahin überein, die Darstellung in ihr sei idealisch. * * * * Das Idealische in der Darstellung beruht besonders darauf, dass sie in eine höhere Sphäre versetzt sind."—V, 71.

Schlegel does not agree⁷⁰ with Coleridge in what he says about the unity of place in the ancient drama. He considers it a superficial conjecture to say that the Greeks observed it because of the presence of the chorus, and refers his readers to Sophocles' *Treatise on the Chorus*.

"The notion against which I declare war is, that whenever a conceit is met with, it is unnatural. People who entertain this opinion, forget, that had they lived in the age of Shakespere, they would have deemed them natural. * * * Puns often arise out of a mingled sense of injury, and contempt of the person inflicting it, and, as it seems to me, it is a natural way of expressing that mixed feeling. I could point out puns in Shakespere, where they appear almost as if the first openings of the mouth of nature—where nothing else

* * * Im Gespräch liebt man rasche unerwartete Erwiedernngen, wodurch ein witziger Einfall wie ein Federball so lange hin und her geschneilt wird, bis man sich müde daran gespleit hat." * * *—VI, 170.

* * * Allein die energischen Leidenschaften elektrisieren alle Geisteskräfte, und werden sich also in reichbegabten Naturen auch sinnreich und bildlich ausdrücken. Man hat oft bemerkt, der Aerger mache witzig; wie die Verzweiflung zuweilen in Lachen ausbricht, so

⁷⁰ Schlegel, V, 77-8. On the unities consult Lessing's *Dramaturgie*, No. 46, 153-4. The thought is practically the same as in Coleridge. Schlegel has a fuller justification of Shakespeare's position in regard to the unities than is suggested in the above quotation. See also Schlegel, VI, 1-42.

could so properly have been said. This is not peculiar to puns, but is of much wider application: read any of the works of our great dramatist, and the conviction comes upon you irresistibly, not only that what he puts into the mouths of his personages might have been said, but that it *must* have been said, because nothing so proper could have been said."—A, 72, 73. (Also A, 90, not quoted.)

könnte sie sich auch wohl durch antithetische Vergleichen Luft machen.

"Ferner hat man die Befugnisse der poetischen Form nicht gehörig erwogen. Shakspeare, der immer seiner Sache gewiss war, stark genug zu rühren, wenn er wollte, hat mitunter durch freiere Spiele die Eindrücke absichtlich gemässigt, wo sie sonst zu schmerzlich geworden wären, und sogleich eine musikalische Linderung der Theilnahme angebracht."—VI, 192.

"* * * Eben so tief als der Ursprung der Poesie liegt im menschlichen Geiste die Forderung, die Sprache solle die bezeichneten Gegenstände durch den Laut sinnlich darstellen. Da nun diess in der Gestalt, wie sie uns überliefert worden, selten in einem merklichen Grade der Fall ist, so wirft sich eine lebhaft angeregte Einbildungskraft gern auf übereinstimmende Laute, die ein glücklicher Zufall darbietet, um solchergestalt in einem einzelnen Falle die verlorne Aehnlichkeit zwischen Wort und Sache wieder hervorzurufen. * * * * Die welche die Wortspiele als eine Erfindung verkünstelter Unnatur verschreien, verrathen nur ihre Unkunde. * * * * Wer sich in Richard dem Zweiten an die rührenden Wortspiele des sterbenden Johann von Gaunt über seinen eignen Namen stösst, der erinnere sich an die ähnlichen des Ajax bei'm Sophokles. Es versteht sich, dass nicht alle Wortspiele, noch an jedem Orte zu billigen sind. Es kommt darauf an, ob die Stimmung

ein solches Spiel der Phantasie zulässt, und ob die Einfälle. Vergleichen, Anspielungen, die ihnen zum Grunde liegen, inneren Gehalt haben. * * * Dass Shakespeare eine so unüberwindliche und unmässige Leidenschaft gehabt, mit Worten und Silben zu spielen, kann ich nicht finden. Es ist wahr, er macht manchmal einen verschwenderischen Gebrauch von dieser Figur; in andern Stücken hat er nur sparsam Wortspiele eingestreut.“—VI, 193-5.

“In the Nurse, you have all the garrulity of old-age, and all its fondness; * * * * *

“You have also in the Nurse the arrogance of ignorance, with the pride of meanness at being connected with a great family. You have the grossness, too, which that situation never removes, though it sometimes suspends it; and, arising from that grossness, the little low vices attendant upon it, which, indeed, in such minds are scarcely vices.—Romeo at one time was the most delightful and excellent young man, and the Nurse all willingness to assist him; but her disposition soon turns in favor of Paris, for whom she professes precisely the same admiration. * * *

“Another point ought to be mentioned as characteristic of the ignorance of the Nurse:—it is, that in all her recollections, she assists herself by the remembrance of visual circumstances. The great difference, in this respect, between the cultivated and the uncultivated mind is this—that the cultivated

“Die Rolle der Amme hat Shakespeare unstreitig mit Lust und Behagen ausgeführt: Alles an ihr hat eine sprechende Wahrheit. Wie in ihrem Kopfe die Ideen nach willkürlichen Verknüpfungen durch einander gehn, so ist in ihrem Betragen nur der Zusammenhang der Inkonsequenz, und doch weiss sie sich eben so viel mit ihrem schlaun Verstande, als mit ihrer Rechlichkeit. Sie gehört zu den Seelen, in denen nichts fest haftet, als Vorurtheile, und deren Sittlichkeit immer von dem Wechsel des Augenblicks abhängt. Sie hält eifrig auf ihre Reputation, hat aber dabei ein uneigennütziges Wohlgefallen an Sünden einer gewissen Art, und verräth nicht verwerfliche Anlagen zu einer ehrbaren Kupplerin. Es macht ihr eigentlich unendliche Freude, eine Heiratsgeschichte, das Unterhaltendste, was sie im Leben weiss, wie einen verbotenen Liebeshandel zu betreiben. * *

* So aber ist es doch nur eine sündhafte Gutmüthigkeit, was ihr

mind will be found to recall the past by certain regular trains of cause and effect; whereas, with the uncultivated mind, the past is recalled wholly by coincident images, or facts which happened at the same time."—A, 86, 87.

den Rath eingleibt, Julia solle, um der Bedrängniss zu entgehn, den Romeo verläugnen, und sich mit Paris vermählen. * * * * Das kauderwelsche Gemisch von Gutem und Schlechtem im Gemüth der Amme ist also ihrer Bestimmung völlig gemäss, und man kann nicht sagen, dass Shakspeare den bei ihr aufgewandten Schatz von Menschenkenntniss verschwendet habe." VII, 88-9.

"* * * Does he open his play by making Romeo and Juliet in love at first sight—at the first glimpse, as any ordinary thinker would do? Certainly not: he knew what he was about, and how he was to accomplish what he was about: he was to develop the whole passion, and he commences with the first elements—that sense of imperfection, that yearning to combine itself with something lovely. * * * He appears to be in love with Rosaline; but, in truth, he is in love only with his own idea. He felt that necessity of being loved which no noble mind can be without. Then our poet, our poet who so well knew human nature, introduces Romeo to Juliet, and makes it not only a violent, but a permanent love—a point for which Shakespere has been ridiculed by the ignorant and unthinking. Romeo is first represented in a state most susceptible of love, and then, seeing Juliet, he took and retained the infection."—A, 97, 98.

"* * * Romeos Liebe zu Rosalinde macht die andre Hälfte der Exposition aus. Sie ist Vielen ein Anstoss gewesen, auch Garrick hat sie in seiner Umarbeitung weggeschafft. Ich möchte sie mir nicht nehmen lassen: sie ist gleichsam die Ouvertüre zu der musikalischen Folge von Momenten, die sich alle aus dem ersten entwickeln, wo Romeo Julien erblickt. Das Stück würde, nicht in pragmatischer Hinsicht, aber lyrisch genommen (und sein ganzer Zauber beruht ja auf der zärtlichen Begeisterung, die es athmet), unvollständig sein, wenn es die Entstehung seiner Leidenschaft für sie nicht in sich begriffe. Sollten wir ihn aber anfangs in einer gleichgültigen Stimmung sehn? Wie wird seine erste Erscheinung dadurch gehoben, dass er, schon von den Umgebungen der kalten Wirklichkeit gesondert, auf dem geweihten Boden der Phantasie wandelt! Die zärtliche Bekümmerniss seiner Eltern, sein unruhiges Schmachten, seine verschlossene Schwermuth, sein Schwärmerischer Hang zur Ein-

samkeit, Alles an ihm verkündigt den Günstling und das Opfer der Liebe. Seine Jugend ist wie ein Gewittertag im Frühlings, wo schwüler Duft die schönsten, üppigsten Blüthen umlagert. Wird sein schneller Wankelmuth die Theilnahme von ihm abwenden? Oder schliessen wir vielmehr von der augenblicklichen Besiegung des ersten Hanges, der schon so mächtig schien, auf die Allgewalt des neuen Eindrucks?" VII, 77-8.

"Surely Shakespere, the poet, the philosopher, * * * never dreamed that he could interest his auditory in favor of Romeo, by representing him as a mere weathercock, blown round by every woman's breath. * * * Romeo tells us what was Shakespere's purpose: he shows us that he had looked at Rosaline with a different feeling from that which he had looked at Juliet. Rosaline was the object to which his over-full heart had attached itself in the first instance: our imperfect nature, in proportion as our ideas are vivid, seeks after something in which those ideas may be realized."—A, 116.

"* * * * Romeo gehört wenigstens nicht zu den Flatterhaften, deren Leidenschaft sich nur an Hoffnungen erhitzt, und doch in der Befriedigung erkaltet. Ohne Aussicht auf Erwidderung hingegen, flieht er die Gelegenheit, sein Herz auf andre Gegenstände zu lenken, die ihm Benvolio zu suchen anrath; und ohne ein Verhängniss, das ihn mit widerstrebenden Ahnungen auf den Ball in Capulets Hause führt, hätte er noch lange um Rosalinden seufzen können. Er sieht Julien: das Loos seines Lebens ist entschieden. Jenes war nur willig gehegte Täuschung, ein Gesicht der Zukunft, der Traum eines Sehnsuchtsvollen Gemüths. Die zartere Innigkeit, der heiligere Ernst seiner zweiten Leidenschaft, die doch eigentlich seine erste ist, wird unverkennbar bezeichnet."¹¹ VII, 78.

¹¹These coincidences in the two critics' interpretation of Romeo and Juliet are nothing short of remarkable. They are the most striking that have so far been met. Schlegel's essay on Romeo and Juliet was first published in 1797, and again in 1801. It is not impossible that Coleridge saw the Essay during his stay in Germany (1798-9), and such likenesses as occur may have resulted from his memory of the contents. On the other hand, there is no external evidence to prove that he saw Schlegel's critique, which leaves the reader at liberty to interpret the coincidences as he sees fit. His final decision, in any case, would be determined by his estimate of Coleridge's intellectual magnitude.

The subject of *Romeo and Juliet* was concluded in the eighth lecture. Before Coleridge delivered the ninth,⁷² he had an opportunity to examine Schlegel's *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Litteratur*. In the preceding eight lectures, he had discoursed upon Shakespeare's supreme judgment, his unrivalled mastery in the portrayal of the human heart, and had interpreted *Romeo and Juliet*. In the ninth lecture, he borrows Schlegel's distinction between the ancient and modern literature, adopts his analogy of statuary and painting, while other borrowings suggest a hasty reading of the German author. He gleans a thought here and there, but in no systematic way. His glorification of Shakespeare, however, becomes at once more positive and definite. The knowledge that another held views similar to his own, and expressed them with firmness, causes a perceptible change in the tone of his criticism, and a difference in his method of procedure.

"The plays of Shakespere are in no respect imitations of the Greeks: they may be called analogies, because by very different means they arrive at the same end; whereas the French and Italian tragedies I have read, and the English ones on the same model, are mere copies, though they cannot be called likenesses, seeking the same effect by adopting the same means, but under most inappropriate and adverse circumstances.

"I have thus been led to consider, that the ancient drama (meaning the works of Aeschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles, for the rhetorical productions of the same class by the Romans are scarcely to be treated as original theatrical poems) might be contrasted with the Shakesperian drama.—I call it the Shakesperian drama to dis-

"Ueber den Ursprung und das Wesen des Romantischen sprach ich in der ersten Vorlesung, und will heir nu wenig in Erinnerung bringen. Die antike Kunst und Poesie geht auf strenge Sonderung des Ungleichartigen, die romantische gefällt sich in unauf lösslichen Mischungen; alle Entgegengesetzten, Natur und Kunst, Poesie und Prosa, Ernst und Scherz, Erinnerung und Ahndung, Geistigkeit und Sinnlichkeit, das Irdische und Göttliche, Leben und Tod, verschmilzt sie auf das innigste mit einander. Wie die ältesten Gesetzgeber ihre ordnenden Lehren und Vorschriften in abgemessenen Weisen ertheilten; wie diess schon vom Orpheus, dem ersten Besänftiger des noch wilden Menschengeschlechts, fabelhaft ge-

⁷² A, 126-7.

tinguish it, because I know of no other writer who has realized the same idea, although I am told by some, that the Spanish poets, Lopez de Vega and Calderon, have been equally successful. The Shakespearian drama and the Greek drama may be compared to statuary and painting. In statuary, as in the Greek drama, the characters must be few, because the very essence of statuary is a high degree of abstraction, which prevents a great many figures being combined in the same effect. In the grand group of Niobe, or in any other ancient heroic subject, how disgusting even it would appear, if an old nurse were introduced. Not only the number of figures must be circumscribed, but nothing undignified must be placed in company with what is dignified: no one personage must be brought in that is not an abstraction: all the actors in the scene must not be presented at once to the eye; and the effect of multitude, if required, must be produced without the intermingling of anything discordant.

"Compare this small group with a picture by Raphael or Titian, in which an immense number of figures may be introduced, a beggar, a cripple, a dog, or a cat; and by a less degree of abstraction, an effect is produced equally harmonious to the mind, more true to nature with its varied colours, and, in all respects but one, superior to statuary. * * * Shakespere reflected manners in his plays, not by a cold formal copy, but by an imitation; that is to say, by an admixture of circumstances. * * *

rühmt wird; so ist die gesammte alte Poesie und Kunst gleichsam ein rhythmischer Nomos, eine harmonische Verkündigung der auf immer festgestellten Gesetzgebung einer schön geordneten und die ewigen Urbilder der Dinge in sich abspiegelnden Welt. Die romantische hingegen ist der Ausdruck des geheimen Zuges zu dem immerfort nach neuen und wundervollen Geburten ringenden Chaos, welches unter der geordneten Schöpfung, ja in ihrem Schoosse sich verbirgt: der beseelende Geist der ursprünglichen Liebe schwebt hier von Neuem über den Wassern. Jene ist einfacher, klarer, und der Natur in der selbstständigen Vollendung ihrer einzelnen Werke ähnlicher; diese, ungeachtet ihres fragmentarischen Ansehens, ist dem Geheimnis des Weltalls näher. * * * *

"Was nun die dichterische Gattung betrifft, womit wir uns hier beschäftigen, so verglichen wir die antike Tragödie mit einer Gruppe in der Skulptur, die Figuren entsprechen dem Charakter, ihre Gruppierung der Handlung, und hierauf ist, als auf das einzige Dargestellte, die Betrachtung bei beiden Arten von Kunstwerken ausschliesslich gerichtet. Das romantische Drama denke man sich hingegen als ein grosses Gemälde, wo ausser der Gestalt und Bewegung in reicheren Gruppen auch noch die Umgebung der Personen mitabgebildet ist, nicht bloss die nächste, sondern ein bedeutender Ausblick in die Ferne, und diess alles unter einer magischen Beleuchtung, welche den

"It is fair to own he had many advantages. * * * The stage, indeed, had nothing but curtains for its scenes, but this fact compelled the actor, as well as the author, to appeal to the imaginations, and not to the senses of the audience; thus was obtained a power over space and time, which in an ancient theatre would have been absurd, because it would have been contradictory. * * *

"The limit allowed by the rules of the Greek stage was twenty-four hours; but, inasmuch as, even in this case, time must have become a subject of imagination, it was just as reasonable to allow twenty-four months, or even years. The mind is acted upon by such strong stimulants, that the period is indifferent; and when once the boundary of possibility is passed, no restriction can be assigned."—A, 121-3.

Eindruck so oder anders bestimmen hilft.

"Ein solches Gemälde wird weniger vollkommen begränzt sein, als die Gruppe, denn es ist wie ein ausgeschnittenes Bruchstück aus dem optischen Schauplatze der Welt. Indessen wird der Maler durch die Einfassung der Vorgründe, durch das gegen die Mitte gesammelte Licht und andre Mittel den Blick gehörig festzuhalten wissen, dass er weder über die Darstellung hinausschwefle, noch etwas in ihr vermisste.

"In der Abbildung der Gestalt, kann die Malerei nicht mit der Skulptur wetteifern, weil jene sie nur durch eine Täuschung und aus einem einzigen Gesichtspunkte auffasst; dagegen ertheilt sie ihren Nachahmungen mehr Lebendigkeit durch die Farbe, die sie besonders in den feinsten Abstufungen des geistigen Ausdrucks in den Gesichtern zu benutzen weiss. Auch lässt sie durch den Blick, welchen die Skulptur doch immer nur unvollkommen geben kann, weit tiefer im Gemüth lesen, und dessen leiseste Regungen vernehmen. Ihr eigentlicher Zauber liegt endlich darin, dass sie an körperlichen Gegenständen sichtbar macht was am wenigsten körperlich ist, Licht und Luft.

"Gerade dergleichen Schönheiten sind dem romantischen Drama eigenthümlich. Es sondert nicht strenge, wie die alte Tragödie, den Ernst und die Handlung unter den Bestandtheilen des Lebens aus; es fasst das ganze bunte Schauspiel desselben mit allen Umgebungen zusammen, und indem es nur das

zufällig neben einander Befindliche abzubilden scheint, befriedigt es die unbewussten Forderungen der Phantasie, vertieft uns in Betrachtungen über die unaussprechliche Bedeutung des durch Anordnung, Nähe und Ferne, Kolorit und Beleuchtung harmonisch gewordenen Scheines, und leiht gleichsam der Aussicht eine Seele." —VI, 161-3.

"Warum ist aber dennoch das Verfahren der griechischen und der romantischen Dramatiker in Absicht auf Ort und Zeit so sehr verschieden? Wir können uns nach dem Geiste unserer Kritik nicht damit helfen, wie so viele Kunstrichter thun, die letzten kurzweg für Barbaren zu erklären. Wir halten vielmehr dafür, dass sie in sehr gebildeten Zeitaltern lebten, und selbst unendlich gebildet waren. Nächst der Verfassung der alten Bühne, welche natürlich auf scheinbare Stätigkeit der Zeit und unveränderte Beibehaltung des Schauplatzes führte, wurde die Beobachtung dieser Gewohnheit durch die Beschaffenheit des Stoffes begünstigt, welchen die griechischen Dramatiker zu bearbeiten hatten. Dieser Stoff war Mythologie, also schon Dichtung, und die vorgängige dichterische Behandlung hatte bereits in stätige leicht übersehbare Massen zusammengefasst was in der Wirklichkeit sich vielfach zersplittert und zerstreut. Ferner war das geschilderte heroische Zeitalter zugleich sehr einfach in den Sitten und sehr wundervoll in den Begebenheiten, und so gleng Alles von selbst gerade auf das Ziel

einer tragischen Entscheidung los.

"Die Hauptursache des Unterschiedes ist jedoch der plastische Geist der Antiken, und der pittoreske der romantischen Poesie. Die Skulptur richtet unsre Betrachtung ausschliessend auf die dargestellte Gruppe, sie entkleidet sie möglichst aller äussern Umgebungen, und wo sie deren nicht ganz entrathen kann, deutet sie solche doch nur leicht an. Die Malerei hingegen liebt es, mit den Hauptfiguren zugleich den umgebenden Ort und alle Nebenbestimmungen ausführlich darzustellen, und im Hintergrunde Ausblicke in eine gränzenlose Ferne zu öffnen; Beleuchtung und Perspektive sind ihr eigentlicher Zauber. Daher vernichtet die dramatische, besonders die Tragische Kunst der Alten gewissermassen die Aeusserlichkeiten von Raum und Zeit; das romantische Drama schmückt vielmehr durch deren Wechsel seine mannichfaltigeren Gemälde. Oder noch anders ausgedrückt: das Princip der antiken Poesie ist idealisch, das der romantischen mystisch; jene unterwirft Raum und Zeit der inneren Freithätigkeit des Gemüths, diese verehrt diese unbegreiflichen Wesen als übernatürliche Mächte, denen auch etwas Göttliches inwohnt." ⁷³—VI, 32, 33.

⁷³See also Schlegel, V, 1-20, and V, 84-7, for further treatment of the same subject. It is impossible to quote all the German critic says in various parts of his Vorlesungen, yet it is evident that Coleridge has made use of the greater part of Schlegel's discussions of the differences between the ancient and modern art.

"* * * If we look to the growth of trees, for instance, we shall observe that trees of the same kind vary considerably, according to the circumstances of soil, air, or position; yet we are able to decide at once whether they are oaks, elms, or poplars.

"So with Shakespere's characters: he shows us the life and principle of each being with organic regularity. * * * The vital writer, who makes men on the stage what they are in nature, in a moment transports himself into the very being of each personage, and, instead of cutting out artificial puppets, he brings before us the men themselves."—A, 134.

"* * * * Die auszeichnende Eigenschaft des im Charakteristischen grossen dramatischen Dichters ist etwas hievon noch ganz Verschiednes, das aber, wie man es nehmen will, entweder jene Fertigkeit und jenen Scharfsinn in sich fasst, oder beider überhebt. Es ist die Fähigkeit, sich so vollkommen in alle Arten zu sein, auch die fremdesten, zu versetzen, dass ihr Besitzer dadurch in den Stand gesetzt wird, als Bevollmächtigter der gesamten Menschheit, ohne besondre Instruktionen für den einzelnen Fall, im Namen eines Jeden zu handeln und zu reden. Es ist die Gewalt, die Geschöpfe seiner Einbildungskraft mit so selbständigem Nachdruck auszustatten, dass sie sich nachher nach allgemeinen Naturgesetzen in jedem Verhältniss entwickeln, und dass der Dichter an seinen Träumen gleichsam Erfahrungen anstellt, die eben so gültig sind, als die an wirklichen Gegenständen gemachten."—VI, 187.

4. THE LECTURES OF 1813-14.

Two years have passed since Coleridge delivered his lectures of 1811-12. That he has been studying Schlegel's work in the meantime, the more extended borrowing and closer correspondence in the later lectures make plainly evident. Lecture I of the series 1813-14, devoted for the most part, to a statement of his principles of criticism, is almost entirely based upon his German contemporary. The other five of the course, dealing with interpretation of the different dramas of Shakespeare, are more original. An idea here and there, and occasionally a pretty

metaphor make up the sum of his further appropriations. In the interpretation of character, Coleridge had nothing to learn from Schlegel.

"Poetry in essence is as familiar to barbarous as civilized nations. The Laplander and the savage Indian are equally cheered by it, as the inhabitants of Paris and London;—its spirit incorporates and takes up surrounding materials, as a plant clothes itself with soil and climate, whilst it bears marks of a vital principle within, independent of all accidental circumstances.

"To judge with fairness of an author's work, we must observe, firstly, what is essential, and secondly, what arises from circumstance."—A, 458-9.

"* * * Aber ein ächter Kenner kann man nicht sein ohne Universalität des Geistes, d. h. ohne die Biegsamkeit, welche uns in den Stand setzt, mit Verläugnung persönlicher Vorliebe und blinder Gewöhnung, uns in die Eigenheiten anderer Völker und Zeitalter zu versetzen, sie gleichsam aus ihrem Mittelpunkt heraus zu fühlen, und was die Menschliche Natur adelt, alles Schöne und Grosse unter den äusserlichen Zuthaten, deren es zu seiner Verkörperung bedarf, ja bisweilen unter befremdlich scheinenden Verkleidungen zu erkennen und gehörig zu würdigen. Es giebt kein Monopol der Poesie für gewisse Zeitalter und Völker; * * * Poesie, im weitesten Sinne genommen, als die Fähigkeit das Schöne zu ersinnen und es sichtbar oder hörbar darzustellen, ist eine allgemeine Gabe des Himmels, und selbst sogenannte Barbaren und Wilde haben nach ihrem Masse Antheil daran. Innere Vortrefflichkeit entscheidet allein, und wo diese vorhanden ist, soll man sich nicht an Aeusserlichkeiten stossen. Auf die Wurzel unsers Daseins muss Alles zurückgeführt werden; ist es da entsprungen, so hat es auch unbezweifelt seinen Werth; ist es aber ohne einen lebendigen Keim nur von aussen angehängt, so kann es kein Gedeihen, noch wahres Wachsthum haben."—V, 5.

"* * * One character attaches to all true poets, they write from a principle within, independent of everything without. The work of the true poet, in its form, its shapings and modifications, is distinguished from all other works that assume to belong to the class of poetry, as a natural from an artificial flower; or as the mimic garden of a child, from an enamelled meadow. In the former the flowers are broken from their stems and stuck in the ground; they are beautiful to the eye and fragrant to the sense, but their colours soon fade, and their odour is transient as the smile of the painter; while the meadow may be visited again and again, with renewed delight; its beauty is innate in the soil, and its bloom is of the freshness of nature."—A, 459-60.

"* * * * Manche auf den ersten Blick glänzende Erscheinungen im Gebiete der schönen Künste, ja wohl gar solche, deren Gesammtheit man mit dem Namen eines goldenen Zeitalters beehrt hat, gleichen den Gärten, welche die Kinder anzulegen pflegen; ungeduldig, eine sogleich fertige Schöpfung ihrer Hände zu sehen, pflücken sie hier und da Zweige und Blumen ab, und pflanzen sie ohne Weiteres in die Erde; anfangs hat alles ein herrliches Ansehen, der kindische Gärtner geht stolz zwischen den zierlichen Beeten auf und ab, bis es damit bald ein klägliches Ende nimmt, indem die wurzellosen Pflanzen ihre welkenden Blätter und Blumen hängen lassen, und nur dürre Reiser zurückbleiben, während der dunkle Wald, auf den nie eine künstliche Pflege gewandt ward, der vor Menschengedenken zum Himmel emporwuchs, unerschüttert steht, und den einsamen Betrachter mit heiligen Schauern erfüllt."—V, 5-6.

"The next ground of judging is how far a Poet is influenced by accidental circumstances. He writes not for past ages, but for that in which he lives, and that which is to follow. It is natural that he should conform to the circumstances of his day, but a true

"Jetzt die Anwendung von dem so eben entwickelten Begriffe der Vielseitigkeit oder Universalität des ächten Kritikers auf die Geschichte der Poesie und der schönen Künste. * * * * Es ist bekannt, wie sich vor beinahe viertheilbhundert Jahren das Studium

"In regard to this illustration which Coleridge has taken from Schlegel, it is interesting to note that Nathan Drake especially calls attention to it in his *Memorials of Shakespeare*, London, 1828. The following words occur in a foot-note, page 74: "The distinction between the mere fabricator of harmonious metre and the genuine poet, was never more impressively drawn than through the medium of this lovely and *truly original* simile."

genius will stand independent of these circumstances: and it is observable of Shakespere that he leaves little to regret that he was born in such an age. The great aera in modern times was what is called the restoration of literature; the ages which preceded it were called the dark ages; * * * The Reformation sounded through Europe like a trumpet; from the king to the peasant there was an enthusiasm for knowledge, the discovery of a MS. was the subject of an embassy. Erasmus read by moonlight, because he could not afford a torch, and begged a penny, not for the love of charity, but for the love of learning. The three great points of attention were morals, religion, and taste, but it becomes necessary to distinguish in this age mere men of learning from men of genius; all, however, were close copyists of the ancients, and this was the only way by which the taste of mankind could be improved, and the understanding informed. Whilst Dante imagined himself a copy of Virgil, and Ariosto of Homer, they were both unconscious of that greater power working within them, which carried them beyond their originals; for their originals were polytheists."—A, 460.

der alten Litteratur durch die Verbreitung der griechischen Sprache (die lateinische war nie ausgestorben) neu belebte: die klassischen Autoren wurden an's Licht gezogen, und durch den Druck allgemein zugänglich gemacht; die Denkmäler alter Kunst wurden fleissig ausgegraben. Alles diess gab dem menschlichen Geiste vielfache Anregungen, und machte eine entscheidende Epoche in unserer Bildungsgeschichte; es war fruchtbar an Wirkungen, die sich noch bis auf uns erstrecken, und auf eine nicht zu berechnende Folgezeit erstrecken werden. Aber es wurde auch sogleich mit dem Studium der Alten ein ertödtender Missbrauch getrieben. Die Gelehrten, welche vorzüglich in dessen Besitz waren und sich durch eigene Werke auszuzeichnen nicht vermochten, schrieben den Alten ein unbedingtes Ansehen zu; in der That mit vielem Scheine, weil sie in ihrer Gattung musterhaft sind. Sie behaupteten, nur von der Nachahmung der Alten Schriftsteller sei wahres Heil für den menschlichen Geist zu hoffen; in den Werken der Neuere schätzten sie nur das was denen der Alten ähnlich war oder zu sein schien. Alles Uebrige verwarfen sie als barbarische Ausartung. Ganz anders verhielt es sich mit den grossen Dichtern und Künstlern. Wie lebhaft auch der Enthusiasmus sein mochte, den die Alten ihnen einflössten, wie sehr sie auch die Absicht haben mochten mit ihnen zu wetteifern so nöthigte sie doch die selbstständige Eigenthümlichkeit ihres Geistes, ihren Gang für sich

zu gehen, und ihren Hervorbringungen das Gepräge ihres Genius aufzudrücken. So war es unter den Italiänern schon mit Dante, dem Vater der neueren Poesie: er erklärte den Virgil für seinen Lehrer, brachte aber ein Werk hervor, das unter allen, die sich nennen lassen, die von der Aeneide verschiedenste Gestaltung hat, und übertraf den vermeinten Meister unsers Erachtens sehr weit an Kraft, Wahrheit, Umfang und Tiefe. So war es späterhin mit dem Ariost, den man verkehrter Weise mit dem Homer verglichen: es giebt nichts Unähnlicheres."—V, 6-7.

"* * * * That law of unity which has its foundation, not in the factitious necessity of custom, but in nature herself, is instinctively observed by Shakespere.

/ "A unity of feeling pervades the whole of his plays."—A, 464.

"* * * Die Einheit [der Handlung] liegt also wiederum, wie bei den obigen Beispielen, in einer höheren Sphäre, im Gefühl oder in der Beziehung auf Ideen. Dless ist einerlei, denn das Gefühl, insofern es nicht bloss sinnlich und leidend, ist unser Sinn, unser Organ für das Unendliche, das sich uns zu Ideen gestaltet.

"Weit entfernt demnach, dass ich das Gesetz der vollständigen Einheit in der Tragödie als entbehrlich verwerfen sollte, fordere ich eine weit tiefer liegende, innigere, geheimnissvollere Einheit, als die ist, womit, wie ich sehe, die meisten Kunstrichter sich begnügen. Diese Einheit finde ich in den tragischen Compositionen Shakespeares eben so vollkommen als in denen des Aeschylus und Sophokles; ich vermisse sie dagegen in manchen von der zergliedernden Kritik als correct gepriesenen Tragödien."—VI, 20-1.

"* * * * In *Romeo and Juliet* all is youth and spring—it is youth with its follies, its virtues, its precipitancies; it is spring with its odours, flowers, and transiency:—the same feeling commences, goes through, and ends the play.⁷⁵ The old men, the Capulets and Montagues, are not common old men, they have an eagerness, a hastiness, a precipitancy—the effect of spring. With Romeo his precipitate change of passion, his hasty marriage, and his rash death, are all the effects of youth. With Juliet, love has all that is tender and melancholy in the nightingale, all that is voluptuous in the rose, with whatever is sweet in the freshness of the spring, but it ends with a long deep sigh, like the breeze of the evening. This unity of character pervades the whole of his dramas."—A, 464.

"* * * Aber Shakspeare war es vorbehalten, Reinheit des Herzens und Glut der Einbildungskraft, Anmuth und Adel der Sitten und leidenschaftlichen Ungestüm in einem idealischen Gemälde zu verbinden. Durch seine Behandlung ist es ein herrlicher Lobgesang auf jenes unaussprechliche Gefühl geworden, welches die Seele zum höchsten Schwunge adelt, und die Sinne selbst zu Seele verklärt, und zugleich eine schwermüthige Elegie auf dessen Hinfälligkeit vermöge seiner eignen Natur und der äussern Umstände; zugleich die Vergötterung und das Leichenbegängniss der Liebe. Sie erscheint hier wie ein himmlischer Funke, der auf die Erde herunterfallend sich in einen Blitzstrahl verwandelt, welcher sterbliche Geschöpfe fast in demselben Augenblicke entzündet und verzehrt. Was der Duft eines südlichen Frühlings Berauschendes, der Gesang der Nachtigall Sehnsüchtiges, das erste Aufblühen der Rose Wollüstiges hat, das athmet aus diesem Gedicht. Aber noch schneller, als die früheste Blüthe der Jugend und Schönheit vergeht, eilt es fort von der ersten schüchtern kühnen Liebeswerbung und sittsamen Erwiderung zur gränzenlosesten Hingegenheit, zur unwiderruflichen Vereinigung; dann unter wechselnden Stürmen des Entzückens und der Verzweiflung zum Untergange der beiden Liebenden, die noch beneidenswerth scheinen, weil ihre Liebe sie überlebt, und weil sie

⁷⁵In this connection, consult Lessing's *Dramaturgie*, No. 15, 50. The influence of Schlegel in this parallel is obvious.

durch ihren Tod einen Triumph über alle trennenden Gewalten errungen, haben. Das Süsseste und das Herbeste, Liebe und Hass, Freudenfeste und düstre Ahnungen, zärtliche Umarmungen und Todtengrüfte, Lebensfülle und Selbstvernichtung, stehen hier dicht neben einander; und alle diese Gegensätze sind in dem harmonischen Wunderwerke so zur Einheit des Gesamt-Eindrucks verschmolzen, dass der Nachhall, den das Ganze im Gemüth zurücklässt, einem einzigen, aber einem unendlichen Seufzer gleicht."—VI, 242-3.

"* * * They were awful beings, and blended in themselves the Fates and Furies of the ancients with the sorceresses of Gothic and popular superstition. They were mysterious natures: * * * they lead evil minds from evil to evil; and have the power of tempting those who have been the tempters of themselves. The exquisite judgment of Shakespere is shown in nothing more than in the different language of the Witches with each other, and with those whom they address; the former displays a certain fierce familiarity, grotesqueness mingled with terror; the latter is always so'lemn, dark, and mysterious."—A, 468.

"* * * *Diese widerwärtigen Dinge, wovon sich die Einbildungskraft abwendet, sind hier ein Sinnbild feindseliger Kräfte, die in der Natur arbeiten, und der geistige Schauer überwiegt den sinnlichen Abscheu. Unter sich reden die Hexen wie Weiber aus dem Pöbel, denn das sollen sie ja sein; dem Macbeth gegenüber erhebt sich ihr Ton; ihre Weissagungen, die sie selbst aussprechen, oder von ihren Phantomen aussprechen lassen, haben die dunkle Kürze, die majestätische Feierlichkeit, wodurch von jeher die Orakel den Sterblichen Ehrfurcht einzuflössen wussten. Man sieht heraus, dass die Zauberinnen selbst nur Werkzeuge sind; sie werden von unsichtbaren Geistern regiert, sonst würde die Bewirkung so grosser und entsetzlicher Begebenheiten über ihre Sphäre sein."—VI, 254-5.

*Coleridge also lectured upon Hamlet in this series, but as his Lectures of 1818 contain a much better report upon this subject, the comparison with Schlegel will be taken up in that connection. See Appendix for other coincidences in this series.

5. THE LECTURES OF 1818.

- ✓ In the Lectures of 1818 are to be found the largest number of Coleridge's borrowings from Schlegel. This is explained by the fact that the remains of this course are not so fragmentary as are previous ones, and also that Coleridge is more familiar with the *Vorlesungen*.

The lecture entitled *The Greek Drama, On the Characteristics of Shakespeare's Dramas*, and others dealing with general principles of criticism contain hardly a sentence which cannot be referred back to the German original, not only in idea, but also in phrase. He does not, however, anywhere follow Schlegel's order of developing his subject, but takes a sentence or a paragraph here and there, as suits his fancy. Another characteristic of his borrowing is that often where he finds a general statement of principles in the *Vorlesungen*, he takes the same idea, in practically the same language, but includes a specific application, or, on the other hand, deduces a general statement from specific examples of Schlegel.

"It is truly singular that Plato,— whose philosophy and religion were but exotic at home, and a mere opposition to the finite in all things, genuine prophet and anticipator as he was of the Protestant Christian aera,—should have given in his dialogue of the Banquet, a justification of our Shakespeare. For he relates that, when all the other guests had either dispersed or fallen asleep, Socrates only, together with Aristophanes and Agathon, remained awake, and that, while he continued to drink with them out of a large goblet, he compelled them, though most reluctantly, to admit that it was the business of one and the same genius to excel in tragic and comic

"Die alte Komödie lässt sich am besten als den durchgängigen Gegensatz der Tragödie begreifen. Diess war vermuthlich der Sinn jener Behauptung des Sokrates, deren Plato am Schlusse seines Gastmals erwähnt. Er erzählt nämlich, nachdem die übrigen Gäste sich zerstreut hatten oder eingeschlafen waren, sei Sokrates allein mit dem Aristophanes und Agathon wach geblieben, und habe, während er aus einem grossen Becher mit ihnen trank, sie genöthigt einzugestehen, wiewohl ungern, es sei die Sache eines einzigen Mannes, sich zugleich auf die tragische und auf die komische Dichtung zu verstehen, und der Tragödiendichter sei vermöge

poetry, or that the tragic poet ought at the same time, to contain within himself the powers of comedy. Now, as this was directly repugnant to the entire theory of the ancient critics, and contrary to all their experience, it is evident that Plato must have fixed the eye of his contemplation on the innermost essentials of the drama, abstracted from the forms of age or country. In another passage he even adds the reason, namely, that opposites illustrate each other's nature, and in their struggle draw forth the strength of the combatants, and display the conqueror as sovereign even on the territories of the rival power."—S, IV, 22-3.

"Nothing can more forcibly exemplify the separative spirit of the Greek arts than their comedy as opposed to their tragedy. But as the immediate struggle of contraries supposes an arena common to both, so both were alike ideal; that is, the comedy of Aristophanes rose to as great a distance above the ludicrous of real life, as the tragedy of Sophocles above its tragic events and passions,—and it is in this one point of absolute ideality, that the comedy of Shakespeare and the old comedy of Athens coincide. In this also alone did the Greek tragedy and comedy unite; in everything else they were exactly opposed to each other. Tragedy is poetry in deepest earnest; comedy is poetry in unlimited jest. Earnestness consists in the direction and convergence of all

"* * * Die alte Komödie ist aber eine eben so unabhängige und ursprüngliche Dichtart als die Tragödie, sie steht auf derselben Höhe mit ihr, das heisst, sie geht eben so weit über eine bedingte Wirklichkeit in das Gebiet der frei schaffenden Phantasie hinaus. "Die Tragödie ist der höchste Ernst der Poesie, die Komödie durchaus scherzhaft. Der Ernst aber besteht, wie ich schon in der Einleitung zeigte, in der Richtung der Gemüthskräfte auf einen Zweck, und der Beschränkung ihrer Thätigkeit dadurch. Sein Entgegengesetztes besteht folglich in der scheinbaren Zwecklosigkeit und Aufhebung aller Schranken beim Gebrauch der Gemüthskräfte, und ist um so vollkommener, je grösser das dabei aufgewandte Mass derselben, und je lebendiger der Anschein des zweck-

the powers of the soul to one aim, losen Spiels und der uneinge- and in the voluntary restraint of schränkten Willkür ist.* * * its activity in consequence; the op- * * "—V, 181.
posite, therefore, lies in the appar- "Der komische Dichter versetzt ent abandonment of all definite aim wie der tragische seine Personen in ein ideales Element. * * * bounds in the exercise of the mind, V, 184.
—attaining its real end, as an entire contrast, most perfectly, the greater the display is of intellectual wealth squandered in the wantonness of sport without an object, and the more abundant the life and vivacity in the creations of the arbitrary will."—S, IV, 23, 24.

"The later comedy, even where it was really comic, was doubtless likewise more comic, the more free it appeared from any fixed aim. Misunderstandings of intention, fruitless struggles of absurd passion, contradictions of temper, and laughable situations there were; but still the form of the representation itself was serious; it proceeded as much according to settled laws, and used as much the same means of art, though to a different purpose, as the regular tragedy itself. But in the old comedy the very form itself is whimsical; the whole work is one great jest comprehending a world of jests within it, among which each maintains its own place without seeming to concern itself as to the relation in which it may stand to its fellows. In short, in Sophocles, the constitution of tragedy is monarchical, but such as it existed in elder Greece, limited by laws, and therefore the more venerable,—all the parts adapting and submitting

"Die neuere Komödie stellt zwar das Belustigende in Charakteren, contrastierenden Lagen und zusammenstellungen derselben auf, und sie ist um so komischer, je mehr das Zwecklose darin herrscht: Missverständnisse, Irrungen, vergebliche Bestrebungen lächerlicher Leidenschaft, und je mehr sich am Ende alles in Nichts auflöst; aber unter allen darin angebrachten Scherzen bleibt die Form der Darstellung selbst ernsthaft, das heisst an einen gewissen Zweck gesetzmässig gebunden. In der alten Komödie hingegen ist diese scherzhaft, eine scheinbare Zwecklosigkeit und Willkür herrscht darin, das Ganze des Kunstwerks ist ein einziger grosser Scherz, der wieder eine ganze Welt von einzelnen Scherzen in sich enthält, unter denen jeder seinen Platz für sich behaupten, und sich nicht um die andern zu bekümmern scheint. In der Tragödie gilt, um mich durch ein Gleichniss deutlich zu machen, die monarchische Verfas-

themselves to the majesty of the heroic sceptre:—in Aristophanes, comedy, on the contrary, is poetry in its most democratic form, and it is a fundamental principle with it, rather to risk all the confusion of anarchy, than to destroy the independence and privileges of its individual constituents,—place, verse, character, even single thoughts, conceits, and allusions, each turning on the pivot of its own free will.

“The tragic poet idealizes his characters by giving to the spiritual part of our nature a more decided preponderance over the animal cravings and impulses, than is met with in real life: the comic poet idealizes his character by making the animal the governing power, and the intellectual the mere instrument. But as tragedy is not a collection of virtues and perfections, but takes care only that the vices and imperfections shall spring from the passions, errors, and prejudices which arise out of the soul;—so neither is comedy a mere crowd of vices and follies, but whatever qualities it represents, even though they are in a certain sense amiable, it still displays them as having their origin in some dependence on our lower nature, accompanied with a defect in true freedom of spirit and self-subsistence, and subject to that unconnection by contradictions of the inward being, to which all folly is owing.

“The ideal of earnest poetry consists in the union and harmonious melting down, and fusion of the

sung, aber wie sie bei den Griechen in der Heldenzeit war, ohne Despotismus, alles fügt sich willig der Würde des heroischen Scepters. Die Komödie hingegen ist demokratische Poesie; es ist Grundsatz darin, sich lieber die Verwirrung der Anarchie gefallen zu lassen als die allgemeine Ungebundenheit aller geistigen Kräfte, aller Absichten, ja auch der einzelnen Gedanken, Einfälle und Anspielungen zu beschränken.

“Alles würdige, edle und grosse der menschlichen Natur lässt nur eine ernsthafte Darstellung zu; denn der Darstellende fühlt es gegen sich im Verhältnisse der Ueberlegenheit, es wird also bindend für ihn. Der komische Dichter muss es folglich von der seinigen ausschliessen, sich darüber hinwegsetzen, ja es gänzlich läugnen, und die Menschheit im entgegengesetzten Sinne wie der Tragiker, nämlich in's Hässliche und Schlechte idealisiren. So wenig aber das tragische Ideal eine Mustersammlung aller möglichen Tugenden ist, eben so wenig besteht auch diese umgekehrte Idealität in einer die Wirklichkeit übersteigenden Anhäufung von sittlichen Gebrechen und Ausartungen; sondern in der Abhängigkeit von dem thierischen Theile, dem Mangel an Freiheit und Selbständigkeit, dem Unzusammenhang und den Widersprüchen des inneren Daseins, woraus alle Thorheit und Narrheit hervorgeht.

“Das ernste Ideal ist die Einheit und harmonische Verschmelzung des sinnlichen Menschen in den

sensual into the spiritual,— of man as an animal into man as a power of reason and self-government. And this we have represented to us most clearly in the plastic art, or statuary; where the perfection of outward form is a symbol of the perfection of an inward idea; where the body is wholly penetrated by the soul, and spiritualized even to a state of glory, and like a transparent substance, the matter, in its own nature darkness, becomes altogether a vehicle and fixure of light, a mean of developing its beauties, and unfolding its wealth of various colors without disturbing its unity, or causing a division of the parts. The sportive ideal, on the contrary, consists in the perfect harmony and concord of the higher nature with the animal, as with its ruling principle and its acknowledged regent. The understanding and practical reason are represented as the willing slaves of the senses and appetites, and of the passions arising out of them. Hence we may admit the appropriateness to the old comedy, as a work of defined art, of allusions and descriptions, which morality can never justify, and only with reference to the author himself, and only as being the effect or rather the cause of the circumstances in which he wrote, can consent even to palliate.”—S, IV, 24, 25.

geistigen, wie wir es auf das klarste in der bildenden Kunst erkennen, wo die Vollendung der Gestalt nur Sinnbild geistiger Vollkommenheit und der höchsten sittlichen Ideen wird, wo der Körper ganz vom Geist durchdrungen und bis zur Verklärung vergeistigt ist. Das scherzhafte Ideal besteht hingegen in der vollkommenen Harmonie und Eintracht der höheren Natur mit der thierischen, als dem herrschenden Princip. Vernunft und Verstand werden als freiwillige Sklavinnen der Sinne vorgestellt.

“Hieraus fließt nothwendig dasjenige, was im Aristophanes so viel Anstoss gegeben hat: die häufige Erinnerung an die niedrigen Bedürfnisse des Körpers, die muthwillige Schilderung des thierischen Naturtriebes, der sich trotz allen Fesseln, welche ihm Sittlichkeit und Anständigkeit anlegen wollen, immer, ehe man sich's versieht, in Freiheit setzt.”—V, 181-3.

The following short extract from Coleridge is an admirable example of the Englishman's power of condensation. His one sentence is the text from which Schlegel discourses for sev-

eral pages. An emphatic sentence taken here and there from the *Vorlesungen* will serve to illustrate the identity of material.

"The old comedy rose to its perfection in Aristophanes, and in him also it died with the freedom of Greece. * * *"—S, IV, 25.

* * * * "Er [Aristophanes] war einer der spätesten Komiker, indem er sogar das Ende der alten Komödie erlebte. * * * " V, 187.

* * * * "Die Komödie wurde durch einen Machtspruch der uneingeschränkten Freiheit beraubt, welche die Bedingung ihrer Möglichkeit war. * * * ." V, 188.

* * * "Die alte Komödie hat mit der athenischen Freiheit zugleich geblüht; es waren dieselben Umstände und Personen, welche beide unterdrückten. * * *"—V, 189.

" * * * * Die nach unseren Sitten und Ansichten unbegreiflich ungebundenen Komödien des Aristophanes, worin der Staat und das Volk selbst ohne Schonung lächerlich gemacht wurden, waren das Spiegel der athenischen Volksfreiheit."—V, 35.

The same statement may be made of the following quotation from Coleridge, as of the preceding one. He has again turned the contents of a lecture or more of Schlegel into one sentence. The latter goes to the root of his subject,—discusses it logically from its beginning, and shows clearly how Euripides lowered tragedy. It is impracticable to quote all he says on the subject, but a few sentences will serve to show Coleridge's source for his statement.

"* * * Euripides had already brought tragedy lower down and by many steps nearer to the real world than his predecessors had ever done, and the passionate admiration which Menander and Philemon expressed for him, and

" * * * * Seine [Euripides] Darstellung nimmt sich gleichsam Vertraulichkeiten mit ihnen [d. h. den Göttern und Helden] heraus; nicht in den Kreiss der Menschheit zieht sie das Uebernatürliche und Fabelhafte (dies haben wir

their open avowals that he was am Sophocles gerühmt), sondern their great master, entitle us to in die Schranken des unvollkommenen Individuums. Diess ist es, die species, between tragedy and was Sophokles meinte, wenn er comedy,—not the tragi-comedy, or sagte: er selbst bilde die Menschen thing of heterogeneous parts, but a so wie sie sein sollten, Euripides, complete whole, founded on principles of its own."—S, IV, 25.

seine Zuschauer immerfort zu erinnern: Seht, jene Wesen waren Menschen, hatten gerade solche Schwächen, handelten nach eben solchen Triebfedern wie ihr, wie der geringste unter euch. Deswegen malt er recht mit Liebe die Blößen und sittlichen Gebrechen seiner Personen aus, ja er lässt sie alles, was ihnen keine Ehre macht, in naiven Geständnissen zur Schau tragen. Sie sind oft nicht bloss gemein, sondern sie rühmen sich dessen, als müsste es eben so sein. * * * * * "V, 136-7.

"So hat dieser Dichter zugleich das innere Wesen der Tragödie aufgehoben, und in ihrem äussern Bau das schöne Ebenmass verletzt. Er opfert meistens das Ganze den Theilen auf, und in diesen sucht er wiederum mehr fremde Reize, als ächte poetische Schönheit. *

* * * " V, 137.

" * * Euripides ist schon ein Vorbote der neuen Komödie, zu welcher hin er eine offenbare Neigung hat, indem er unter dem Namen des Heldenalters oft die damalige Wirklichkeit schildert. Menander hat auch eine ausgezeichnete Bewunderung für ihn geäussert, und sich für seinen Schüler erklärt; und vom Philemon hat man ein Fragment voll so ausschweifender Bewunderung, dass es fast scherzhaft gemeint zu sein scheint. * * * " V, 144.

“ * * * Tragedy, indeed, carried the thoughts into the mythologic world, in order to raise the emotions, the fears, and the hopes, which convince the inmost heart that their final cause is not to be discovered in the limits of mere mortal life, and force us into a presentiment, however dim, of a state in which those struggles of inward free-will with outward necessity, which form the true subject of the tragedian, shall be reconciled and solved; the entertainment or new comedy, on the other hand, remained within the circle of experience. Instead of the tragic destiny, it introduced the power of chance; even in the few fragments of Menander and Philemon now remaining to us, we find many exclamations and reflections concerning chance and fortune, as in the tragic poets concerning destiny. In tragedy, the moral law, either as obeyed or violated, above all consequences—its own maintenance or violation constituting the most important of all consequences—forms the ground; the new comedy, and our modern comedy in general (Shakespeare excepted as before), lies in prudence or imprudence, enlightened or misled self-love. The whole moral system of the entertainment exactly like that of the fable, consists in rules of prudence, with an exquisite conciseness and at the same time an exhaustive fulness of sense. An old critic said that tragedy was the flight or elevation of life, comedy (that of Menander) its arrangement or ordonnance.”—S, IV, 26.

“Der höchste tragische Ernst geht, wie ich gezeigt, letztlich immer auf das Unendliche, und der Gegenstand der Tragödie ist eigentlich der Kampf zwischen dem endlichen äussern Dasein und der unendlichen innern Anlage. Der gemilderte Ernst des Lustspiels bleibt hingegen innerhalb des Kreisses der Erfahrung stehen. An die Stelle des Schicksals tritt der Zufall, denn dñess ist eben der empirische Begriff von jenem, als dem was nicht in unserer Gewalt steht. Und so finden wir auch wirklich unter den Bruchstücken der Komiker viele Ausprüche über den Zufall, wie bei den Tragikern über das Schicksal. Der unbedingten Nothwendigkeit liess sich nur die sittliche Freiheit entgegen stellen; den Zufall soll man verständig zu seinem Vorthelle lenken. Deshalb ist die ganze Sittenlehre des Lustspiels, gerade wie die der Fabel, nichts anders als Klugheitslehre. In diesem Sinne hat ein alter Kritiker zugleich erschöpfend und mit unübertrefflicher Kürze gesagt, die Tragödie sei die Flucht oder die Aufhebung des Lebens, die Komödie dessen Anordnung.”—V, 220.

“Wir sehen hier eine neue Bestimmung im Begriff der Handlung, nämlich die Beziehung auf die Idee der sittlichen Freiheit, kraft welcher allein der Mensch als der erste Urheber seiner Entschlüsse betrachtet wird. Denn innerhalb des Gebietes der Erfahrung angesehen, ist der Entschluss als Anfang der Handlung nicht bloss Ursache, sondern er ist wiederum Wirkung von vorherge-

henden Beweggründen. Wir haben in dieser Beziehung auf eine höhere Idee allerdings die Einheit und Ganzheit der Tragödie im Sinne der Alten gesucht: nämlich ihr absoluter Anfang ist die Bewährung der Freiheit, die Anerkennung der Nothwendigkeit ihr absolutes Ende."—VI, 17.

"Add to these features a portrait-like truth of character,—not so far indeed as that a bona fide individual should be described or imagined, but yet so that the features which give interest and permanence to the class should be individualized. The old tragedy moved in an ideal world,—the old comedy in a fantastic world. As the entertainment, or new comedy, restrained the creative activity both of the fancy and the imagination, it indemnified the understanding in appealing to the judgment for the probability of the scenes represented. The ancients themselves acknowledged the new comedy as an exact copy of real life. The grammarian, Aristophanes, somewhat affectedly exclaimed: "Oh, Life and Menander, which of you two imitated the other?" In short, the form of this species of drama was poetry, the stuff or matter was prose. It was prose rendered delightful by the blandishments and measured motions of the muse. Yet even this was not universal. The mimes of Sophron, so passionately admired by Plato, were written in prose, and were scenes out of real life conducted in dialogue. The exquisite Feast of

"Das wären etwa die komischen und tragischen Bestandtheile des Lustspiels. Es kommt aber noch ein Drittes hinzu, was an sich weder komisch noch tragisch, ja überhaupt nicht poetisch ist: ich meine die porträtmässige Wahrheit. Das Ideal und die Caricatur, sowohl in der bildenden Kunst als in der dramatischen Poesie, machen auf keine andre Wahrheit Anspruch, als die in ihrer Bedeutung liegt; sie sollen nicht als einzelne Wesen wirklich scheinen. Die Tragödie spielt in einer idealischen, die alte Komödie in einer phantastischen Welt. Da das Lustspiel die schöpferische Wirksamkeit der Phantasie beschränkt, so muss sie dem Verstande einen Ersatz dafür bieten, und dieser liegt in der von ihm zu beurtheilenden Wahrscheinlichkeit des Dargestellten. Ich meine hiemit nicht die Berechnung der seltner oder häufiger vorkommenden Fälle (denn ohne sich jene zu erlauben, innerhalb der Gränzen des Alltäglichen, würde wohl alle komische Belustigung unmöglich sein) sondern die individuelle Wahrheit. Das Lustspiel muss ein treues Gemälde gegenwärtiger Sitten, es muss local

Adonis in Theocritus, we are told, with some others of his eclogues, were close imitations of certain mimes of Sophron—free translations of the prose into hexameters.” —S, IV, 26, 27.

und national bestimmt sein; und gesetzt auch, wir sehen Lustspiele aus andern Zeiten und von andern Völkern aufführen, so werden wir diess doch darin spüren und schätzen. Das Porträtmässige ist nicht dahin zu deuten, als müssten die komischen Charaktere ganz und gar individuell sein. Es dürfen die auffallendsten Züge von verschiedenen Individuen einer Gattung bis zu einer gewissen Vollständigkeit darin zusammengestellt werden; falls sie nur mit Besonderheit genug bekleidet sind, um individuelles Leben zu haben, und nicht als Beispiele eines einseitigen Begriffes herauszukommen. Aber insofern das Lustspiel die Verfassung des geselligen und häuslichen Lebens überhaupt schildert, ist es ein Porträt; von dieser prosaischen Seite muss es sich nach Zeit und Ort verschieden bestimmen, während die komischen Motive, ihrer poetischen Grundlage nach, immer dieselben bleiben.

“Für eine genaue Copie des Wirklichen haben schon die Alten das Lustspiel erkannt. Der Grammatiker Aristophanes, davon durchdrungen, rief mit einer etwas gekünstelten, aber sinnreichen Wendung aus: “O Leben und Menander! wer von euch beiden hat den andern nachgeahmt?” Horaz berichtet uns, es hätten Einige gezweifelt, ob die Komödie ein Gedicht sei oder nicht, weil weder in den Gegenständen noch in den Worten der nachdrückliche Schwung andrer Gattungen sei, und die Sprache sich nur durch das Silbenmass von der des gewöhn-

lichen Umgangs unterscheide. Aber, wandten Andre hiegegen ein, die Komödie erhebt doch auch zuweilen ihren Ton, z. B. wenn ein erzürnter Vater dem Sohn seine Ausschweifungen vorrückt. Diese Antwort weiset schon Horaz als unzulänglich ab. "Würde Pomponius," sagt er mit einer beißenden Anwendung, "etwas anders zu hören bekommen, wenn sein Vater noch lebte?" Man muss, um den Zweifel zu beantworten, sich auf dasjenige richten, worin das Lustspiel über die einzelne Wirklichkeit hinausgeht. Zuvörderst ist es ein erdichtetes Ganzes, aus übereinstimmenden Theilen nach einem künstlichen Verhältniss zusammengesetzt. Ferner ist das Vorgestellte nach den Bedingungen theatralischer Darstellung überhaupt behandelt: alles Fremdartige und Störende ist ausgeschieden, das zur Sache Gehörige ist zu rascherem Fortgange zusammengedrängt; allem, den Lagen wie dem Charakter der Personen, wird eine Klarheit der Erscheinung geliehen, welche die verschwimmenden unentschiedenen Umrisse der Wirklichkeit selten haben. Diess ist das Poetische in der Form des Lustspiels; das prosaische Princip liegt im Stoffe, in der verlangten Aehnlichkeit etwas Einzelnem, Aeusserem.

"Wir können hier sogleich die vielfach durchgestrittene Frage abthun, ob die Versification der Gattung wesentlich, und ein in Prosa geschriebenes Lustspiel immer etwas Mangelhaftes sei. Viele haben diess bejaht, auf das Ansehn

der Alten, welche freilich keine für das Theater bestimmte Gattung in Prosa hatten; doch hiesel konnten Zufälligkeiten mit entschelden helfen, z. B. der grosse Umfang der Bühne, wo der Vers und dessen nachdrücklicherer Vortrag zu Hörbarkeit beitrug. Diese Kritiker vergassen, dass die vom Plato so sehr bewunderten Mimen des Sophron in Prosa geschrieben waren. Und was waren diese Mimen, wenn wir uns nach der Andeutung, einige Idyllen des Theokrit seien ihnen in Hexametern nachgebildet, eine Vorstellung davon machen dürfen? Es waren Gemälde des wirklichen Lebens, in Gesprächen, worin aller poetische Schein möglichst vermieden ward."—V, 221-4.

Coleridge, very inappropriately for the unity and logical order of his treatment of the Greek drama, now breaks off to discuss the chorus and its import.⁷⁷ One sentence of his may be given in this connection to illustrate his borrowing from Schlegel.

"* * * It [the chorus] had a double use, a two-fold purpose; it constantly reminded the spectators of the origin of tragedy as a religious service, and declared itself as the ideal representative of the audience by having its place exactly in the point, to which all the radii from the different seats or benches converged."—S, IV, 27.

"Ich komme auf eine andre Eigenheit, welche die alte Tragödie von der unsrigen unterscheidet: den Chor. Wir müssen ihn begreifen als den personificierten Gedanken über die dargestellte Handlung, die verkörperte und mit in die Darstellung aufgenommene Theilnahme des Dichters, als des Sprechers der gesamten Menschheit. Dies ist seine all-

⁷⁷ Schlegel develops his subject of Dramatic Art and Literature in a very orderly and definite way. He states first his principles of criticism, then discusses the essence of tragedy and comedy in general, its meaning and import to the Greeks, and naturally comes to the chorus very early in his series of lectures. Schlegel, V, 71-78. See also Appendix.

gemeine poetisch gültige Bedeutung, welche uns hier allein angeht, und der es keinen Eintrag thut, dass der Chor eine örtliche Veranlassung in den Festlichkeiten des Bacchus hatte, und bei den Griechen auch immer eine besondere nationale Bedeutung behielt. — * * * V, 76.

"* * * Was er auch in dem einzelnen Stücke Besondres sein und thun möchte, so stellte er überhaupt und zuvörderst den nationalen Gemeingeist, dann die allgemeine menschliche Theilnahme vor. Der Chor ist mit einem Worte der idealisierte Zuschauer. Er lindert den Eindruck einer tief erschütternden oder tief rührenden Darstellung, indem er dem wirklichen Zuschauer seine eignen Regungen schon lyrisch, also musikalisch ausgedrückt entgegenbringt, und ihn in die Region der Betrachtung hinaufführt.—V, 77.

"* * * Es [der Chor] war also sehr bedeutsam, dass der Chor, welcher ja der idealische Stellvertreter der Zuschauer war, gerade da seinen Platz hatte, wo alle Radien von deren Sitzen zusammenliefen."—V, 60.

"The Greek tragedy may rather be compared to our serious opera than to the tragedies of Shakespeare; nevertheless, the difference is far greater than the likeness. In the opera all is subordinated to the music, the dresses and the scenery;—the poetry is a mere vehicle for articulation, and as little pleasure is lost by ignorance of the Italian language, so is little gained

"So wird auch auf die allgemeine Angabe hin, die alte Tragödie sei mit Musik und Tanz begleitet gewesen, noch oft die Vergleichung zwischen ihr und der Oper erneuert, welche doch die unpassendste von der Welt ist, und von gänzlicher Unbekanntschaft mit dem Geiste des klassischen Alterthumes zeugt. Jener Tanz, jene Musik haben mit dem,

by the knowledge of it. But in the Greek drama all was but as instruments and accessories to the poetry; and hence we should form a better notion of the choral music from the solemn hymns and psalms of austere church music than from any species of theatrical singing. A single flute or pipe was the ordinary accompaniment; and it is not to be supposed, that any display of musical power was allowed to obscure the distinct hearing of words. On the contrary, the evident purpose was to render the words more audible, and to secure by the elevations and pauses greater facility of understanding poetry. For the choral songs are, and ever must have been, the most difficult part of tragedy; there occur in them the most involved verbal compounds, the newest expressions, the boldest images, the most recondite allusions. Is it credible that the poets would, one and all, have been thus prodigal of the stores of art and genius, if they had known that in the representation the whole must have been lost to the audience,—at a time too when the means of after-publication were so difficult and expensive, and the copies of their works so slowly and narrowly circulated."—S, IV, 28.

was bei uns so heisst, nichts als den Namen gemein. In der Tragödie war die Poesie die Hauptsache: alles Uebrige war nur dazu da, ihr, und zwar in der strengsten Unterordnung, zu dienen. In der Oper hingegen ist die Poesie nur Nebensache, Mittel das Uebrige anzuknüpfen; sie wird unter ihren Umgebungen fast ertränkt. Die beste Vorschrift für einen Operntext ist daher, eine poetische Skizze zu liefern, deren Umrisse nachher durch die übrigen Künste ausgefüllt und gefärbt werden. Diese Anarchie der Künste, da Musik, Tanz und Decoration durch Verschwendung ihrer üppigsten Reize sich gegenseitig zu überbieten suchen, ist das eigentliche Wesen der Oper. Welch eine Opernmusik wäre das, welche die Worte mit den einfachsten Modulationen bloss rhythmisch begleitete? In dem schwelgerischen Wettstreit der Darstellungsmittel, in der Verwirrung des Ueberflusses liegt gerade der phantastische Zauber. Dieser würde durch Annäherung an die Strenge des antiken Geschmacks in irgend einem Punkte, wäre es auch nur im Costum, gestört werden; denn nun wäre jene Buntheit in allem Uebrigen auch nicht zu dulden. Vielmehr passen sich für die Oper glänzende, mit Flitterputz überladene Trachten: dadurch werden so manche gerügte Unnatürlichkeiten, z. B. dass die Helden in der höchsten Verzweiflung mit Coloraturen und Trillern abgehen, wieder gehoben. Es sind keine

"The first sentence of this extract from Coleridge is not very logical.

wirklichen Menschen, sondern eine seltsame Art singender Geschöpfe bevölkert diese Feenwelt. Auch schadet es nicht, dass die Oper uns in einer meist nicht verstandenen Sprache vorgelesen wird: der Text geht ja ohnehin in solcher Musik verloren; es kommt bloss darauf an, welche Sprache die tönendste und wohlklingendste ist, die für die Arien am meisten offene Vocale und lebhafteste Accente für das Recitativ hat. Man würde also eben so Unrecht haben, wenn man die Oper der Einfachheit der griechischen Tragödie annähern wollte, als er verkehrt ist, diese mit jener zu vergleichen.

“Bei der syllabischen Composition, die, damals wenigstens, in der griechischen Musik durchgängig galt, hat der feierliche Chorgesang, dessen Anmuth wir uns an manchen, besonders gottesdienstlichen, so kunstlos schmelzenden Nationalgesängen einigermaßen vorstellen können, ohne andre Begleitung von Instrumenten als die einer einzigen Flöte, gewiss die Deutlichkeit der Worte nicht im mindesten verdunkelt. Denn die Chöre und die lyrischen Gesänge überhaupt sind der schwerverständlichste Theil der alten Tragödie, und mussten es auch für die mitlebenden Zuhörer sein. Es kommen darin die verschlungensten Wortfügungen, die fremdesten Ausdrücke, die kühnsten Bilder und Anspielungen vor. Wie sollten die Dichter eine so auserlesene Kunst daran verschwendet haben, wenn sie doch beim Vortrage hätte verloren

gehen müssen? Solche Zwecklosigkeit der Auszierung lag gar nicht in der griechischen Sinnesthese."—V, 67-69.

"The ancient [literature] was allied to statuary, the modern refers to painting. In the first there is a predominance of rhythm and melody, in the second of harmony and counterpoint."—S, IV, 29.

"Diese vorläufig nur so hingestellte Ansicht würde in hohem Grade einleuchtend werden, wenn sich zeigen liesse, dass derselbe Gegensatz zwischen dem Streben der Alten und Neueren symmetrisch, ja ich möchte sagen systematisch, durch alle Aeusserungen des künstlerischen Vermögens (so weit wir sie bei jenen kennen) hindurch geht; sich in der Musik und den bildenden Künsten, wie in der Poesie, offenbart; welche Aufgabe in ihrem ganzen Umfange noch zu lösen steht, wiewohl manches Einzelne vortrefflich bemerkt und angedeutet worden ist.

"Um Schriftsteller zu nennen, welche im Auslande geschrieben haben, und früher, als in Deutschland diese sogenannte Schule aufgekommen: in der Musik hat Rousseau den Gegensatz anerkannt, und gezeigt, wie Rhythmus und Melodie das herrschende Princip der antiken, Harmonie der modernen Musik sei. Er verwirft aber einseitig die letztere, worin wir ganz und gar nicht mit ihm einig sein können. Ueber die bildenden Künste thut Hemsterhuys den sinnreichen Ausspruch: die alten Maler seien vermutlich zu sehr Bildhauer gewesen, die neueren Bildhauer seien zu sehr Maler. Diess trifft den eigentlichen Punkt; denn, wie ich es in der Folge deutlicher entwickeln werde, der Geist der ge-

samnten antiken Kunst und Poesie
ist plastisch, so wie der modernen
pittoresk."—V, 10.

"O! few have there been among critics, who have followed with the eye of the imagination the imperishable yet ever wandering spirit of poetry through its various metempsychoses, and consequent metamorphoses; or who have rejoiced in the light of clear perception at beholding with each new birth, with each rare avator, the human race frame to itself a new body, by assimilating materials of nourishment out of its new circumstances, and work for itself new organs of power appropriate to the new sphere of its motion and activity!"—S, IV, 35.

"Hieraus leuchtet ein, dass der unvergängliche, aber gleichsam durch verschiedene Körper wandernde Geist der Poesie, so oft er sich im Menschengeschlechte neu gebiert, aus den Nahrungstoffen eines veränderten Zeitalters sich auch einen anders gestalteten Leib zubilden muss. Mit der Richtung des dichterischen Sinnes wechseln die Formen, und wenn man die neuen Dichterarten mit den alten Gattungsnamen belegt, und sie nach deren Begriffe beurtheilt, so ist diess eine ganz unbefugte Anwendung von dem Ansehen des klassischen Alterthums."—VI, 158.

"* * * I have named the true genuine modern poetry the romantic; and the works of Shakespeare are romantic poetry revealing itself in the drama. If the tragedies of Sophocles are in a strict sense of the word tragedies, and the comedies of Aristophanes comedies, we must emancipate ourselves from a false association arising from misapplied names, and find a new word for the plays of Shakespeare. For they are, in the ancient sense, neither tragedies nor comedies, nor both in one,—but a different genus, diverse in kind, and not merely different in degree.

"* * * * * Niemand soll vor einer Gerichtsbarkeit belangt werden, unter die er nicht gehört. Wir können gern zugeben, die meisten dramatischen Werke der englischen und spanischen Dichter seien im Sinne der Alten weder Tragödien, noch Komödien; es sind eben romantische Schauspiele.—VI, 158.

"Die Aehnlichkeit des englischen und spanischen Theaters besteht nicht bloss in der kühnen Vernachlässigung der Einheiten von Ort und Zeit, und in der Vermischung komischer und tragischer Bestandtheile: was man immer noch als bloss verneinende Eigenheiten

⁷⁷Schlegel further develops this parallel of the ancient and modern art in the remainder of Lecture I, which Coleridge has condensed into a single sentence. See Appendix for other references of Schlegel to the same idea.

Coleridge's borrowings from the German critic for his lecture on the Greek Drama need no comment. Placing them side by side, shows that he has not only taken ideas, but often the very words in which those ideas are clothed.

They may be called romantic dramas, or dramatic romances."—S, IV, 35.

betrachten könnte, dass sie sich nämlich nicht nach den Regeln und der Vernunft (in der Meinung gewisser Kunstrichter gleichbedeutende Wörter) hätten fügen wollen oder können; sondern sie liegt weit tiefer im innersten Gehalt der Dichtungen, und in den wesentlichen Beziehungen, wodurch jene abweichende Form ein wahres Erforderniss wird, die mit ihrer Gültigkeit zugleich ihre Bedeutung erhält. Was sie mit einander gemein haben, ist der Geist der romantischen Poesie, dramatisch ausgesprochen."⁸⁰ VI, 160.

"A deviation from the simple forms and unities of the ancient stage is an essential principle, and, of course, an appropriate excellence, of the romantic drama."—S, IV, 35.

"Der Wechsel der Zeiten und Oerter, vorausgesetzt, dass sein Einfluss auf die Gemüther mitgetheilt ist, und dass er der theatralischen Perspektive in Bezug auf das in der Ferne Ange deutete oder von deckenden Gegenständen halb Versteckte zu statuten kommt; der Kontrast von Scherz und Ernst, vorausgesetzt, dass sie im Grade und der Art ein Verhältniss zu einander haben; endlich die Mischung der dialogischen und lyrischen Bestandtheile, wodurch der Dichter es in der Gewalt hat, seine Personen mehr oder weniger in poetische Naturen zu verwandeln, sind nach meiner Ansicht im romantischen Drama nicht etwa blosser Lizenzen, sondern wahre Schönheiten. In allen diesen Punkten, und noch in manchen andern, werden wir die englischen und spanischen Werke, welche vorzugsweise diesen Namen verdienen,

⁸⁰Coleridge has not made the parallel of the Spanish and English drama. He has applied the idea of romantic to the English alone but it is plainly a borrowing.

einander vollkommen ähnlich finden, wie weit sie auch sonst von einander abstehen mögen."—VI, 163.

"It is a painful truth that not only individuals, but even whole nations, are oftentimes so enslaved to the habits of their education and immediate circumstances, as not to judge disinterestedly even on those subjects, the very pleasure arising from which consists in its disinterestedness, namely, on subjects of taste and polite literature. Instead of deciding concerning their own modes and customs by any rule of reason, nothing appears rational, becoming or beautiful to them, but what coincides with the peculiarities of their education. In this narrow circle, individuals may attain to exquisite discrimination, as the French critics have done in their own literature; but a true critic can no more be such without placing himself on some central point, from which he may command the whole, that is, some general rule, which, founded in reason, or the faculties common to all men, must therefore apply to each—than an astronomer can explain the movements of the solar system without taking his stand in the sun. And let me remark, that this will not tend to produce despotism but, on the contrary, true tolerance in the critic. He will, indeed, require, as the spirit and substance of a work, something true in human nature itself, and independent of all circumstances; but in the mode of applying it, he will estimate genius and judgment according to the

"Wir sehen eine Menge Menschen, ja ganze Nationen, so sehr befangen in den Gewöhnungen ihrer Erziehung und Lebensweise, dass sie sich auch dann nicht davon losreißen können, wenn vom Genusse schöner Kunst die Rede ist. Nur dasjenige, was in ihrer Sprache, ihren Sitten, und ihren gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen einheimisch und hergebracht ist, erscheint ihnen als natürlich, schicklich und schön. In dieser ausschliessenden Ansicht und Empfindungsweise kann man es durch Bildung zu einer grossen Feinheit der Unterscheidung in dem engen Kreisse bringen, worauf man sich nun einmal beschränkt hat. Aber ein ächter Kenner kann man nicht sein ohne Universalität des Geistes, d. h. ohne die Biegsamkeit, welche uns in den Stand setzt, mit Verläugnung persönlicher Vorliebe und blinder Gewöhnung, uns in die Eigenheiten anderer Völker und Zeitalter zu versetzen, sie gleichsam aus ihrem Mittelpunkte heraus zu fühlen, und was die menschliche Natur adelt, alles Schöne und Grosse unter den äusserlichen Thaten, deren es zu seiner Verkörperung bedarf, ja bisweilen unter befremdlich scheinenden Verkleidungen zu erkennen und gehörig zu würdigen. Es giebt kein Monopol der Poesie für gewisse Zeitalter und Völker; folglich ist auch der Despotismus des

felicity with which the imperishable soul of intellect, shall have adapted itself to the age, the place, and the existing manners. The error he will expose, lies in reversing this, and holding up the mere circumstances as perpetual to the utter neglect of the power which can alone animate them. For art cannot exist without, or apart from, nature; and what has man of his own to give to his fellow-man, but his own thoughts and feelings, and his observations, so far as they are modified by his own thoughts or feelings?"—S, IV, 53.

Geschmacks, womit diese gewisse vielleicht ganz willkürlich bei ihnen festgestellte Regeln allgemein durchsetzen wollen, immer eine ungültige Anmassung. Poesie, im weitesten Sinne genommen, als die Fähigkeit das Schöne zu ersinnen und es sichtbar oder hörbar darzustellen, ist eine allgemeine Gabe des Himmels, und selbst sogenannte Barbaren und Wilde haben nach ihrem Masse Antheil daran. Innere Vortrefflichkeit entscheidet allein, und wo diese vorhanden ist, soll man sich nicht an Aeusserlichkeiten stossen. Auf die Wurzel unsers Daseins muss Alles zurückgeführt werden: ist es da entsprungen, so hat es auch unbezweifelt seinen Werth; ist es aber ohne einen lebendigen Keim nur von aussen angehängt, so kann es kein Gedeihen, noch wahres Wachsthum haben. * * V, 4-5.
 " * * * Blosser Nachahmung ist aber in den schönen Künsten immer fruchtlos: auch was wir von Andern entlehnen, muss in uns gleichsam wiedergeboren werden, wenn es poetisch hervorgehen soll. Was hilft alles Ankünsteln des Fremden? Die Kunst kann nicht ohne Natur bestehen, und der Mensch hat seinen menschlichen Mitbrüdern nichts andres zu geben als sich selbst."—V, 8.

"* * * The spirit of poetry, like all other living powers, must of necessity circumscribe itself by rules, were it only to unite power with beauty. It must embody in order to reveal itself; but a living body is of necessity an organized

"* * * * Der dichterische Geist bedarf allerdings einer Umgränzung, um sich innerhalb derselben mit schöner Freiheit zu bewegen, wie es alle Völker schon bei der ersten Erfindung des Silbenmasses gefühlt haben; er muss

one; and what is organization but the connection of parts in and for a whole, so that each part is at once end and means?—This is no discovery of criticism;—it is a necessity of the human mind; and all nations have felt and obeyed it, in the invention of metre, and measured sounds, as the vehicle and involucre of poetry—itsself a fellow-growth from the same life—even as the bark is to the tree!

"No work of true genius dares want its appropriate form, neither indeed is there any danger of this. As it must not, so genius cannot, be lawless; for it is even this that constitutes it genius—the power of acting creatively under laws of its own origination. * * * * The true ground of the mistake lies in the confounding mechanical regularity with organic form. The form is mechanic, when on any given material we impress a pre-determined form, not necessarily arising out of the properties of the material;—as when to a mass of wet clay we give whatever shape we wish it to retain when hardened. The organic form, on the other hand, is innate; it shapes, as it develops, itself from within, and the fulness of its development is one and the same with the perfection of its outward form. Such as the life is, such is the form. Nature, the prime genial artist, inexhaustible in diverse powers, is equally inexhaustible in forms;—each exterior is the physiognomy of the being within—its true image reflected and thrown out from the concave mirror;—and even such is

nach Gesetzen, die aus seinem eignen Wesen herfließen, wirken wenn seine Kraft nicht in's Leere hinaus verdunsten soll.

"Formlos zu sein darf also den Werken des Genius auf keine Weise gestattet werden,³¹ allein es hat damit auch keine Gefahr. Um dem Vorwurfe der Formlosigkeit zu begegnen, verständige man sich nur über den Begriff der Form, der von den Meisten namentlich von jenen Kunstrichtern, welche vor Allem auf steife Regelmässigkeit dringen, nur mechanisch, und nicht, wie er sollte organisch gefasst wird. Mechanisch ist die Form, wenn sie durch äussere Einwirkung irgend einem Stoffe bloss als zufällige Zuthat, ohne Beziehung auf dessen Beschaffenheit ertheilt wird, wie man z. B. einer weichen Masse eine beliebige Gestalt giebt, damit sie solche nach der Erhärtung beibehalte. Die organische Form hingegen ist eingeboren, sie bildet von innen heraus, und erreicht ihre Bestimmtheit zugleich mit der vollständigen Entwicklung des Keimes. Solche Formen entdecken wir in der Natur überall, wo sich lebendige Kräfte regen, von der Krystallisation der Salze und Mineralien an bis zur Pflanze und Blume und von dieser bis zur menschlichen Gesichtsbildung hinauf. Auch in der schönen Kunst, wie im Gebiete der Natur, der höchsten Künstlerin, sind alle ächten Formen organisch, d. h. durch den Gehalt des Kunstwerkes bestimmt. Mit Einem Worte, die Form ist

³¹It is interesting to compare this with *Dramaturgie*, No. 96, 317-18.

the appropriate excellence of her chosen poet, of our own Shakespeare—himself a nature humanized, a genial understanding directing self-consciously a power and an implicit wisdom, deeper even than our consciousness.”—S, IV, 54, 55.

nichts anders als ein bedeutsames Aeusseres, die sprechende, durch keine störenden Zufälligkeiten entstellte Physiognomie jedes Dinges, die von dessen verborgnem Wesen ein wahrhaftes Zeugniß ablegt.”⁸² —VI, 157-8.

“* * * Ariel has in everything the airy tint which gives the name. * * * Caliban, on the other hand, is all earth, all condensed and gross in feelings and images: he has the dawnings of understanding without reason or the moral sense, and in him, as in some brute animals, this advance to the intellectual faculties, without the moral sense, is marked by the appearance of vice.”—S, IV, 76.

“In dem zephyrlichen Ariel ist das Bild der Luft nicht zu verkennen, selbst sein Name spielt darauf an, so wie dagegen Caliban das schwere erdige Element bedeutet.—VI, 236-7. * * * Dieser [Prospero] hat nur seinen Verstand entwickeln können, ohne im geringsten seine eingewurzelte Bosheit zu zähmen: es ist als ob einem tölpischen Affen der Gebrauch der Vernunft und menschliche Sprache verliehen worden wäre.”—VI, 236.

“* * * In *Coriolanus* and *Julius Caesar*, you see Shakespeare's good-natured laugh at mobs.”—S, IV, 100.

“Im Coriolan sind die meisten komischen Einmischungen, weil hier die vielköpfige Menge eine beträchtliche Rolle spielt, und wenn Shakspeare das Volk als Masse in seinen blinden Bewegungen schildert, überläßt er sich fast immer seiner lustigen Laune.”—VI, 264.

“The groundwork of the tale [*Romeo and Juliet*] is altogether in family life, and the events of the play have their first origin in family feuds;”—S, IV, 110.

“Die Feindschaft der beiden Familien ist der Angel, um welchen sich Alles dreht:”⁸³ sehr richtig hebt also die Exposition mit ihr an. Der Zuschauer muss ihre

⁸² Coleridge's next lecture is entitled, “Of the Characteristics of Shakespeare's Dramas.” (S. IV, 56-64.) This is the same, almost word for word as that which he delivered for the first one of his series of 1813-14. The coincidences and borrowings are pointed out in that connection, and it is therefore sufficient to refer to that section.

⁸³ This can safely be pronounced a borrowing. In none of his other interpretations of *Romeo and Juliet* has he brought out this point.

Ausbrüche selbst gesehen haben, um zu wissen, welch unübersteigliches Hinderniss sie für die Vereinigung der Liebenden ist. Die Erbitterung der Herren hat an den Bedienten etwas plumpe, aber kräftige Repräsentanten. es zeigt wie weit sie geht, dass selbst diese albernsten Gesellen einander nicht begegnen können ohne sogleich in Händel zu gerathen."—VII, 77.

"* * * It would have displeased us if Juliet had been represented as already in love, or as fancying herself so,—but no one, I believe, ever experiences any shock at Domeo's forgetting his Rosaline, who had been a mere name for the yearnings of his youthful imagination, and rushing into his passion for Juliet. Rosaline was a mere creation of his fancy;"⁸¹ * * *—S, IV, 111.

"* * * * Er sieht Julien: das Loos seines Lebens ist entschieden. Jenes war nur willig gehegte Täuschung, ein Gesicht der Zukunft, der Traum eines sehnsuchtsvollen Gemüths. Die zartere Innigkeit, der heiligere Ernst seiner zweiten Leidenschaft, die doch eigentlich seine erste ist, wird unverkennbar bezeichnet. * * *

"Julia durfte nicht an Liebe gedacht haben, ehe sie den Romeo sah: es ist das erste Entfalten der jungfräulichen Knospe."—VII, 78-9.

"Shakespeare provides for the finest decencies. It would have been too bold a thing for a girl of fifteen;—but she swallows the draught in a fit of fright."⁸²—S, IV, 115.

"* * * * Mit welcher Ueberlegenheit hat er ein solches Wagstück von Darstellung bestanden! Erst Juliens Schauer, sich allein zu fühlen, fast schon wie im Grabe; das Bestreben, sich zu fassen; der so natürliche Verdacht, und wie sie ihn mit einer über alles Arge erhabenen Seele von sich weisst, grösser als jener Held, der wohl nicht ohne seine Zuversicht

⁸¹See also S, IV, 113 for the same idea.

⁸²This discourse of Coleridge on Romeo and Juliet from which the above extracts are taken, closely resembles those which he gave in 1811-12. In the section of this work dealing with that discussion, are given parallel passages from Schlegel. To avoid repetition, only those ideas which are additional to the above are noted here.

zu Schau zu tragen die angeblich vergiftete Arzenei austrank; wie dann die Einbildung in Aufruhr geräth, so viele Schrecken das zarte Gehirn des Mädchens verwirren, und sie den Kelch im Taumel hinunterstürzt, den gelassen auszuleeren eine zu männliche Entschlossenheit bewiesen hätte."—VII, 84.

"Of all Shakespeare's plays, *Macbeth* is the most rapid, *Hamlet* the slowest, in movement, *Lear* combines length with rapidity,—like the hurricane and the whirlpool, absorbing while it advances. It begins as a stormy day in summer, with brightness; but that brightness is lurid, and anticipates the tempest."⁸⁶—S, IV, 133.

" * * * Im Gange der Handlung ist dieses Stück [*Macbeth*] ganz das Gegentheil vom *Hamlet*: sie schreitet mit erstaunlicher Raschheit vorwärts, von der ersten Katastrophe (denn Dunkans Ermordung kann schon eine Katastrophe genannt werden) bis zur letzten. "Gedacht, gethan!" ist der allgemeine Wahlspruch."—VI, 257.

"The rugged Pyrrhus—he whose sable arms, etc."⁸⁷

"This admirable substitution of the epic for the dramatic, giving such a reality to the impassioned dramatic diction of Shakespeare's own dialogue, and authorized too, by the actual style of the tragedies before his time (*Porrex* and *Ferrex*, *Titus Andronicus*, etc.), is well worthy of notice. The fancy, that a burlesque was intended, sinks below criticism: the lines, as epic narrative, are superb.

"Als ein Beispiel von den vielen missverstandenen Feinheiten Shakspeares führe ich den Stil an, worin die Rede des Schauspielers von der Hekuba abgefasst ist. Die Ausleger haben viel darüber hin und her gestritten, ob sie von Shakspeare selbst oder entlehnt sei, und ob er es mit seinem Lobe des Stückes, worin sie vor- kommen soll, ernstlich gemeint, oder den tragischen Bombast mancher Zeitgenossen habe verspotten wollen. Sie bedachten

"In the thoughts, and even in the nicht, dass diese Rede nicht für

⁸⁶ The figurative language with which Coleridge begins his characterization of *Lear* he has borrowed from the opening words of Schlegel's interpretation of *Othello*:

"Wenn *Romeo* und *Julia* in den Farben der Morgenröthe glänzt, aber einer Morgenröthe, deren purpurne Wolken schon der Gewitter eines schwülen Tages verkündigen, so ist dagegen *Othello* eine Gemälde mit starken Schatten: man könnte es einen tragischen Rembrand nennen. VI, 244. See Appendix.

⁸⁷ *Hamlet*, Act II, sc. 2.

separate parts of the diction, this description is highly poetical!—the language of lyric vehemence and epic pomp, and not of the drama. But if Shakespeare had made the diction truly dramatic, where would have been the contrast between Hamlet and the play of *Hamlet*?" —S, IV, 158.

sich, sondern an der Stelle, wo sie steht, beurtheilet werden muss. Was in dem Schauspiele selbst wieder als dramatische Dichtung erscheinen sollte, musste gegen dessen würdige Poesie so wie theatralische Erhöhung gegen die einfache Natur abstechen. Deswegen hat Shakespeare das Schauspiel im Hamlet durchgehends in spruchreichen Reimen voller Antithesen abgefasst. Allein dieser feierlich abgemessene Ton passt nicht für die Rede, heftige Rührung sollte darin herrschen, es blieb also dem Dichter kein anderer Ausweg übrig als der, welchen er gewählt hat, Ueberladung des Pathos. Es ist allerdings falsche Emphase in dieser Rede, aber dergestalt mit wahrer Grösse vermischt, dass ein Schauspieler, darin geübt, die nachgeahmten Rührungen künstlich in sich hervorzurufen, wirklich selbst davon hingerissen werden kann. Uebrigens wird man nicht glauben, Shakespeare habe seine Kunst wenig genug verstanden, um nicht einzusehen, dass ein Trauerspiel, worin Aeneas der Dido eine so weitläufige epische Erzählung von etwas längst Vergangenen, von der Zerstörung Trojas gemacht hätte, weder dramatisch noch theatralisch gewesen wäre."^{ss}—VI, 251-2.

^{ss} Compare S. IV, 144-64 and Schlegel, VI, 247-52. Although the two critics agree in the main in their interpretation of Hamlet, both making the same psychological analyses of his character, yet Schlegel's criticism of the Prince is not so favorable as that of Coleridge. The former thinks him weak because of his many unexecuted resolutions, and impelled to crooked ways, not so much by necessity, as by a natural bent for artifice and dissimulation. Coleridge's study of Hamlet more resembles that of Goethe in his Wilhelm Meister [Ed. Berlin, G. Hempel, XVII, 245-323] than Schlegel's. See also Lessing's Hamburgische Dramaturgie, No 11, 37-39. The parallels quoted above from the two critics on the subject of Hamlet, are mere coincidences. One could hardly read a borrowing here.

"The plays of Beaumont and Fletcher are mere aggregations without unity; in the Shakespearian drama there is a vitality which grows and evolves itself from within—a key-note which guides and controls the harmonies throughout. What is *Lear*?—It is storm and tempest—the thunder at first grumbling in the far horizon, then gathering around us, and at length bursting in fury over our heads—succeeded by a breaking of the clouds for a while, a last flash of lightning, the closing in of night, and the single hope of darkness! And *Romeo and Juliet*?—It is a spring day, gusty and beautiful in the morn, and closing like an April evening with the song of the nightingale;—whilst *Macbeth* is deep and earthy—composed to the subterranean music of a troubled conscience, which converts everything into the wild and fearful!"—S, IV, 256.

"Bei anfangender Ausartung der dramatischen Kunst verlieren die Zuschauer zuerst die Fähigkeit, ein Schauspiel im Ganzen zu beurtheilen; auf die Harmonie der Zusammensetzung, auf das richtige Verhältniss aller Theile wenden Beaumont und Fletcher daher den wenigsten Fleiss. Nicht selten lassen sie eine glücklich gemachte Anlage fahren, und scheinen sie beinahe zu vergessen, sie bringen etwas anders an, was an sich gefallen und unterhalten kann, aber nicht an diese Stelle gehört, und nicht vorbereitet ist."—VI, 345.

"Der äussere Sinn nimmt an den Gegenständen immer nur eine unbestimmte Mehrheit von unterscheidbaren Theilen wahr; das Urtheil, wodurch wir diese zu einer ganzen und vollständigen Einheit zusammenfassen, ist immer durch die Beziehung auf eine höhere Sphäre der Begriffe gegründet. * * * *

"Die einzelnen Theile eines Kunstwerks und, dass ich sogleich auf die vorliegende Frage zurückkomme, eines Trauerspiels müssen nicht bloss mit dem Auge und Ohr, sondern mit dem Verstande aufgefasst werden. Sie dienen aber insgesamt einem allgemeinen Zweck, nämlich einem Gesammt-Eindruck auf das Gemüth. Die Einheit liegt also wiederum, wie bei den obigen Beispielen, in einer höheren Sphäre, im Gefühl oder in der Beziehung auf Ideen."—VI, 20.

*For the figurative language in which Coleridge characterizes *Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Macbeth* see Schlegel, VI, 242-3; VI, 244 (applied to *Othello*); VI, 253-259. These passages have already been quoted in another connection.

CHAPTER IV.

COLERIDGE'S STATEMENTS REGARDING HIS
LITERARY OBLIGATIONS.

Mention has already been made of the fact that at the time Coleridge saw Schlegel's *Vorlesungen* (in 1812), he did not hesitate to give high praise to the Germans for being the first to justly and adequately estimate the genius and art of Shakespeare. In line with this is his statement in the *Biographia Literaria*,⁹⁰ crediting Lessing with the honor of first demonstrating to the world, even to Englishmen, "the true nature of Shakespeare's irregularities." But even while commending Lessing and Schlegel, he does not acknowledge that he owes anything to them, always calling likenesses even in detail, "coincidences."

Coleridge's defense of himself with reference to Schelling has already been quoted.⁹¹ In it, he also mentions Schlegel to prove the case in hand more thoroughly. "In this instance, as in the dramatic lectures of Schlegel, to which I have before alluded, from the same motive of self-defense against the charge of plagiarism, many of the most striking resemblances, indeed, all the main and fundamental ideas were born and matured in my mind before I had ever seen a single page of the German Philosopher."⁹² The *Biographia* also contains another statement in regard to the same subject, which is of sufficient importance in this connection to demand quotation.

"Pope was under the common error of his age,"⁹³ an error far from being sufficiently exploded even at the present day. It consist (as I explained at large, and proved in detail in my

⁹⁰ S, III, 557.

⁹¹ Ibid., 262-6. (Quoted in Chapter I of this study.)

⁹² Ibid., 263.

⁹³ Ibid., 166-7. (note.)

public lectures), in mistaking for the essentials of the Greek stage certain rules, which the wise poets imposed upon themselves, in order to render all the remaining parts of the drama consistent with those, that had been forced upon them by circumstances independent of their will; out of which circumstances the drama itself arose. The circumstances in the time of Shakespeare, which it was equally out of his power to alter, were different, and such as, in my opinion, allowed a far wider sphere, and a deeper and more human interest. Critics are too apt to forget, that rules are but means to an end; consequently, where the ends are different, the rules must be likewise so. * * * Judging under this impression, I did not hesitate to declare my full conviction, that the consummate judgment of Shakespeare, not only in the general construction, but in all the details, of his dramas, impressed me with greater wonder, than even the might of his genius, or the depth of his philosophy. The substance of these lectures, I hope soon to publish; and it is but a debt of justice to myself and my friends to notice, that the first course of lectures, which differed from the following courses only by occasionally varying the illustrations of the same thoughts, was addressed to very numerous, and I need not add, respectable audiences at the Royal Institution, before Mr. Schlegel gave his lectures on the same subjects at Vienna."

The Lectures of 1818 called forth the charge of plagiarism, for which he had been careful to provide two separate defenses beforehand. He was so aroused by the imputation, that he recalled all the tributes he had ever made in favor of the Germans,—even of Lessing, forgetting that, in so doing, he was contradicting former utterances. His letters and remarks on the point cannot escape the charge of bitterness. "Sixteen or seventeen years ago, I delivered eighteen lectures on Shakespeare at the Royal Institution. * * * I dare appeal to the most adequate judges, * * * whether there is one single principle in Schlegel's work (which is not an admitted drawback from its merits), that was not established and applied in detail by me."

* S. IV, 17, also 457. Sara Coleridge points out the mistake of her father in writing "16 or 17" years ago. This would place the date of his first course in 1802.

In a letter written in 1819⁹⁵ to J. Briton, Coleridge explains his method of preparing for a lecture, and there affirms that one might as well demand of him what his dreams were in a bygone year as to ask him what was the substance of lectures delivered in that year. Resemblances to Schlegel, he insists, could only be caused by proceeding from the same principles of criticism. "This was most strikingly evidenced in the coincidences between my lectures and those of Schlegel, such and so close, that it was fortunate for my moral reputation that I had not only from five to seven hundred ear-witnesses that the passages had been given by me at the Royal Institution two years before Schlegel commenced his lectures at Vienna, but that notes had been taken of these by several men and ladies of high rank."⁹⁶

This anxiety to justify the likenesses which occur in his criticism and Schlegel's, indicates how deeply the charge of plagiarism had struck home, and how solicitous he was to claim what he, no doubt, believed to be his own in the realm of aesthetic criticism. In his lecture on *Shakespeare, a Poet Generally*, he again makes his oft-repeated denial of obligations, in this instance expressing himself more emphatically than ever before.⁹⁷ "However inferior in ability I may be to some who have followed me, I own I am proud that I was the first in time who publicly demonstrated to the full extent of the position, that the supposed irregularity and extravagances of Shakespeare were the mere dreams of a pedantry that arraigned the eagle because it had not the dimensions of the swan. In all the successive courses of lectures delivered by me, since my first attempt at the Royal Institution, it has been, and it still remains, my object, to prove that in all points from the most important to the most minute, the judgment of Shakespeare is commensurate with his genius."

Coleridge's most forcible assertion in regard to his lectures at the Royal Institution, and the coincidences with Schlegel's *Vor-*

⁹⁵ S. IV, 18-19.

⁹⁶ For an explanation of the mis-statement that he had delivered his lectures two years before Schlegel, see S. IV, 457. Coleridge's first lectures were given in the winter and spring of 1808 at the Royal Institution, and Schlegel's were delivered at Vienna in the same year.

⁹⁷ S. IV, 52.

lesungen, is contained in what is now printed as a prefatory note to his discourse on Hamlet.⁹⁸ In this note, he still clings to the error that his lectures were delivered before Schlegel's, and insists on "coincidence even in detail." He quotes Hazlitt as defending him against the accusation of literary appropriation thus:—"That is a lie; for I myself heard the very same character of Hamlet from Coleridge before he went to Germany, and when he had neither read or could read a page of German!" Hazlitt visited Coleridge in 1798 at Nether Stowey, and reports the following conversation for that year. "Some comparison was introduced between Shakespeare and Milton."⁹⁹ Coleridge said he hardly knew which to prefer. Shakespeare appeared to him a mere stripling in the art; he was as tall and strong, with infinitely more activity than Milton, but he never appeared to have come to man's estate; or, if he had, he would not have been a man, but a monster." This is quite in the manner of Pope and Johnson, and not at all in that of Lessing or Schlegel, the latter of whom had by this time written and published his excellent critique on *Romeo and Juliet*,¹⁰⁰ in which he applies the same principles of criticism of which Coleridge so often discourses.

As for Coleridge's not knowing a word of German before 1798, it only needs a reference to his letter dated April 1, 1796, to the editor of the Cambridge Intelligencer,¹⁰¹ and another to Thomas Poole,¹⁰² May 6, 1796, to refute this statement. In the one he proposed to translate Lessing's *Fragmente eines Ungenannten*, and in the other he says he hopes to be able to read German readily in about six weeks.

There remain to be noticed but two or three minor denials by Coleridge of his German obligations. In a letter to John Taylor Coleridge,¹⁰³ April 8, 1825, he says. "I can not only assert, but I can satisfactorily prove by reference to writings. (Letters, Marginal Notes, and those in books that have never been in my possession since I first left England for Hamburgh,

⁹⁸ S. IV., 144.

⁹⁹ Birrell, Hazlitt, New York, 1902, 54.

¹⁰⁰ Schlegel, VII, 71-98.

¹⁰¹ S. III, 634.

¹⁰² Ibid, 638-9.

¹⁰³ Letters, II, 735.

etc.,) that all the elements, the *differentials*, as the algebraists say, of my present opinions existed for me before I had ever seen a book of German metaphysics later than Wolf or Leibnitz, or could have read it, if I had." Here again, is the old assertion of his possessing the "main and fundamental ideas," claiming originality in criticism and philosophy.

Crabb Robinson also reports him as saying that from Fichte and Schelling he had not gained one great idea.¹⁰⁴ In a letter of December, 1817, to J. H. Green,¹⁰⁵ he states that he has but merely looked into Jean Paul Richter's *Vorschule der Aesthetik*, and that in so doing, he found a sentence almost word for word the same as he had written in a fragment of an *Essay on the Supernatural many years ago*. The sentence is that the presence of the ghost is the terror, not what he does. It will be remembered that Brandl found the influence of Jean Paul to be very marked in the Lectures of 1811-12, and that Coleridge borrowed from the German the statement that the fool occupied the same place in Shakespeare's plays as the chorus in the ancient dramas.¹⁰⁶

H The story of Coleridge's denial of his obligations is now finished. That he was a dreamer who confused fact and fancy hardly needs further corroboration. Even a hasty perusal of his letters and statements of his plans is sufficient to reveal this fact. Yet there are several other instances which illustrate admirably what an incorrigible dreamer he was.

Crabb Robinson visited Coleridge at Highgate on Sunday, July 14, 1816. The conversation turned on Goethe's *Theory of Colours*. Coleridge then remarked that some time before he had worked out the same theory, and would have reduced it to form, had not his attention been diverted to poetry. On being told that an English work had been recently issued on the same subject, Coleridge naively replied that he was very free in communicating his thoughts wherever he went, and among literary people.¹⁰⁷

No less interesting is a letter written to his wife in April, 1812. "Has Southey read *Childe Harold*? All the world is talking

¹⁰⁴ Robinson, *Diary*, etc., I, 198.

¹⁰⁵ *Letters*, II, 683-4.

¹⁰⁶ Brandl, 314-17.

¹⁰⁷ Robinson, *Diary*, etc., I, 272.

of it. I have not, but from what I hear it is exactly on the plan I myself had not only conceived six years ago, but have the whole scheme drawn out in one of my old memorandum books."¹⁰⁸

To be classed with the two instances cited above, is his remark that before he had seen any part of Goethe's *Faust*, he had thought out and drawn up the plan of a drama, a *Faust*, which was to be to his mind what the *Faust* was to Goethe's.¹⁰⁹

This mass of evidence proves beyond a doubt that Coleridge's dreaming propensities were of such nature and extent as to exclude entirely his own utterances in determining his obligations to any writer. Internal evidence must alone decide. That Coleridge was an intellectual potentate, possessing one of the most powerful and thought-engendering minds of his day, hardly needs discussion here. Whether his failure to achieve the hundredth part of what he was capable of doing, or planned to do, be attributed to weakness of will, or to eccentricity of genius, will depend upon the critic. For a century, all the world, with the exception of Ferrier, has been making excuses for him and his peculiar habits. Everyone seems unwilling to make him conform to the Procrustean bed of ordinary standards. His matchless work in poetry, and the wide influence of his literary criticism upon English thought combine to restrain those who would pass a harsh judgment, and cause them to search for extenuating circumstances, which in the case of Coleridge, are not far to seek.

But one explanation for Coleridge's denial of his literary obligations appears possible after a study of him and his work. He undoubtedly believed in the originality of his own mind. His wide reading extending over the philosophy and literature of more than one people, which was begun in the years when he was a mere boy, and stretched over a life-time devoted to study and contemplation, peculiarly fitted him to grasp immediately any new work on the subject of philosophy or criticism. In the light of facts as they stand, there can be little doubt that new expressions in these two fields seemed to him but the wording of opin-

¹⁰⁸ Letters, II, 583.

¹⁰⁹ S, VI, 421-3.

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ions that he himself held, but to which he had not yet given definite form. It is for this reason that he so often insists upon "coincidences" and is unwilling to give another credit where he feels articulate expression only is borrowed, and that sometimes unconsciously. Whether he would or could ever have made himself clear to the world, as Schlegel does in his definite statement of principles, belongs to the realm of conjecture, which though interesting, is seldom profitable. Considering other practices in his life, however, the answer probably would have to be in the negative.

CHAPTER V.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

Estimates of literary indebtedness can never be absolute. A moment's consideration of this assertion will establish its truth. Striking similarities of thought in the works of two authors may frequently be traced to their study of common sources, without any interdependence of one upon the other, or when the two are contemporaries, to the spirit of the age. When, however, similarity of thought is matched with sameness of phrase, the question of direct relationship must be decided in the affirmative, even though occasionally, as in the case of Coleridge's defenses, external evidence declares for the other side.

The remains of the lectures of 1808, and the first nine of the series 1811-12, with such critical notes as are contained in the diary of J. Payne Collier constitute the basis for determining how many opinions Schlegel and Coleridge held in common before the latter saw the *Vorlesungen über Dramatische Kunst und Litteratur*.

A comparison of their opinions reveals the fact that the two critics are thinking along the same lines, but still with a difference. Coleridge's ideas are more uncertain,—his principles of procedure do not stand out clear and definite as do Schlegel's. The influence of Lessing is plainly traceable, and Brandl calls attention to other German writers with whose works Coleridge was familiar, namely, Schiller, Kant, Herder, and Richter. The similarity between his ideas and those of Schlegel is explained by studying the intellectual development of the two critics, and it will be found that their education was, in many respects, similar. Coleridge, while in Germany, studied under Schlegel's masters, and his wide reading of the German philosophers and men of letters tended further to make their stores of knowledge

alike. These facts account for most of the striking coincidences with Schlegel which occur in Coleridge's early lectures and utterances.

The two critics proceed in the same way in their analysis of Shakespeare's characters, and necessarily arrive at practically the same conclusions. They are agreed that the influence of the greatest of English dramatists is morally elevating.—that he is a deep thinker, as well as a keen observer, and that he is, above all, the absolute master in the portrayal of the human heart. His play on words is traced to human nature itself, and finds additional justification, if any is needed, by a consideration of the age in which he lived. Shakespeare and Sophocles are not to be tried by the same standards, but Coleridge does not emphasize by what standards they are to be tried, as Schlegel does. Indeed, a definite statement of the principles by which the English critic measures the art and genius of Shakespeare is wanting in his early lectures. Only one such general principle finds its way into this section of his criticism.—namely this,—a study of the age and conditions which produced a great poet is necessary to the interpretation of his work.

After Coleridge has read the *Vorlesungen*, a new tone is apparent in his criticism. Where before it was indefinite, it becomes definite; the principles with which he had been darkly working, but which he had not been able to express in words, he now enunciates with certainty of their truth. Where before he had dimly realized with the aid derived from Lessing, that Shakespeare and Sophocles were each perfect in his own way, he now comes boldly out with Schlegel as his guide in thoughts as well as words, and declares that the plays of Shakespeare are in no way imitations of the Greek,—they are analogies,—each arriving at the same end, but by different means. The ancient art is plastic,—the modern picturesque,—one can be compared to statuary, the other to painting, and the latter is to be designated as romantic.

The correspondences to Schlegel discovered in the later lectures of 1811-12 series are in fact borrowings. They indicate, however, as stated in another part of this work, that Coleridge has made but a hasty examination of the *Vorlesungen*; thorough enough however, to assure him that in Schlegel there was a field

all in bloom with flowers sprung from the same seed which was sown in his own mind by Germans he knew equally well with Schlegel. He therefore does not hesitate to transplant a flower here and there to adorn his own garden.

Before he lectured in 1813-14, judging from internal evidence of the most satisfactory kind, sameness of phrase joined with sameness of thought, Coleridge had done more than hastily glance through the *Vorlesungen* gleaning stray thoughts as he went. His indebtedness in this course is far more evident than in the previous one. Especially is this true of the first lecture of this series, *On the General Characteristics of Shakespeare*. He borrows almost entire the principles of criticism which Schlegel lays down as his guide in his early lectures and repeats in later discourses. They are as follows: Poetry, in essence, is alike the common possession of barbarians and civilized nations. But while its spirit must express itself by means of the varying conditions of varying age, and thus in different forms, it must also be possessed of a vital principle within, grounded in human nature itself, and independent of outward circumstances. This vital principle is essential to true poetry. It dominates even genius, and causes it to declare itself in its own original way, even though it set out to imitate older models. Coleridge also declares with Schlegel that the law of unity is grounded in nature, and this unity, whether called the unity of impression, interest, or feeling, is everywhere observed in the dramas of Shakespeare.

In the lectures of 1818, Coleridge's debt to Schlegel becomes still more obvious. In the pages devoted to the Greek drama, there is hardly a sentence which cannot be traced back to its German original. Similitude of thought is reinforced by sameness of phrase and illustration; not always indeed literal translation, nor occurring in the order of Schlegel, but a paraphrase close enough to enable one to declare with certainty the German passages upon which it is based. Occasionally he elaborates an idea logically, in the manner of Schlegel, but more often he condenses into one paragraph the pit of a whole lecture from the *Vorlesungen*. The thoughts expressed in this course which have their origin in Schlegel's work are the separative spirit of Greek art, illustrated in their comedy as opposed to their tragedy, the

only element common to both being found in their ideality,—the aims and essentials of each,—a characterization of new comedy and its chief exponents, and a contrast of it with the old comedy,—the import of the chorus in the ancient tragedy, and the error of comparing it with the modern opera. The result of all this is to declare that a new species must be made for Shakespeare, which is to be called the romantic drama. The name romantic, opposed to classic, is justified in the very character of the northern nations; in their religion, and in all the forms of their art. The romantic drama in form is quite as perfect in its own way as the ancient tragedy or comedy. The fact that romantic means the union of opposites does not imply in itself the negation of every rule,—the spirit of poetry, must, like all other living powers, be circumscribed by rules, “if only to unite power with beauty.” The works of genius must not be formless, as indeed they cannot be, but mechanical regularity must not be confounded with organic form, which is innate. The exterior is but the reflection of the true image within.¹¹⁰

For the remainder of the parallels, but a word need be said. Some of them are borrowings as sameness of phraseology indicates; others may be so, but there is no means of determining absolutely. Coincidences in material which rest on an historical basis must be carefully considered, before a borrowing can be postulated. Such facts are accessible to all, and a re-statement, based upon the same sources, must necessarily show some likeness. Yet there can be no doubt that some of Coleridge’s observations about the critics of Shakespeare, especially the French, were suggested by Schlegel, though he may have known all the facts before.

A few minor points remain to be noticed. First, Coleridge exhibits a strong preference for Schlegel’s illustrations, metaphors and similes. This is well illustrated by the figure he borrows to explain the difference between the true poet, and the mere imitator of poetry, who lacks that vital principle which has its abiding-place in human nature itself.¹¹¹ Other examples

¹¹⁰ Thoughts of former courses are repeated in these lectures of 1818, but they are not enumerated in this summary.

¹¹¹ *S.*, IV, 57; *Schlegel*, V, 5, 6.

of the same kind are the metaphorical characterization of *Romeo and Juliet*, the *Winter's Tale* and *King Lear*.¹¹²

Second, in character analysis, a likeness of method and a correspondent likeness of results reached by such method is apparent, but the borrowings are few. Coleridge needs no help from Schlegel in this field of his criticism. When, however, he sees an especially good point brought out by his German contemporary, he does not disdain to incorporate it into his work. An example is at hand in his taking over the statement of Schlegel that Juliet drinks the poison in a fit of fright; to have swallowed the draught deliberately would have argued a too-masculine firmness in her character, and thus violated the unity of impression. Other little borrowings from Schlegel are touches in the characters of Ariel, Caliban, and the witches in *Macbeth*.

These minor appropriations aside, however, Coleridge, as has been suggested in another connection, transcends Schlegel in character-appreciation. An explanation may possibly be found,—apart from temperamental differences,—in the fact that Coleridge in his criticism had the double purpose of proving that Shakespeare's art is equal to his genius, and of endeavoring to trace through his dramas, not by a chronological, but by a psychological arrangement of them, the mental history of the immortal dramatist's mind; while Schlegel, surveying the field of dramatic art and literature as a whole, had but the former purpose in view. The second of these aims of Coleridge without doubt influenced him to give unusually close attention to character¹¹³ and its development, with the result that he is far more subtle than his German contemporary.

¹¹² It will be noticed that Coleridge does not always use the figures to illustrate or characterize the same thing that Schlegel does.

¹¹³ Coleridge, in a letter of February, 1804, to Sir George Beaumont, states his method of studying Shakespeare.

"Each scene of each play I read as if it were the whole of Shakespeare's works—the sole thing extant. I ask myself what are the characteristics, the diction, the cadences, the metre, the character, the passion, the moral or metaphysical inherencies and fitness for theatric effect, and in what sort of theatres. All these I write down with great care and precision of thought and language (and when I have gone through the whole, I then shall collect my papers, and observe how often such and such expressions recur), and thus shall not only know what the characteristics of Shakespeare's plays are, but likewise what proportion they bear to each other. Then, not carelessly, though of course with far less care, I shall read through the old plays, just before Shakespeare's time, Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, Ben Jonson; Beaumont and Fletcher,

His more minute character-analysis also accounts for the differences which occur between his criticism and Schlegel's. His view of Hamlet's character is distinctly more sympathetic than is the German writer's, who finds the Prince of Denmark, though susceptible of noble ambition, a weakling,—impelled to dissimulation, not by necessity, but by natural inclination,—a man who has no firm belief in himself or anyone. Coleridge's more favorable interpretation bears obvious resemblances to Goethe's, but even here, the English critic exhibits the greater subtlety. In the same way, Coleridge, in his study of Othello, surpasses Schlegel in delicacy of psychological penetration. As a whole, the glorification of this tragedy in Schlegel is not exceeded by Coleridge, but it is in the interpretation of Othello himself that the difference appears. The German critic sees in him, not a Moor, but a negro, possessed in all respect of the wild nature of the South, tamed only by foreign laws of honor and milder manners. His jealousy is not of the heart, but of the senses, and puts to flight all his acquired virtues, leaving him a mere savage. Coleridge, on the other hand, conceives of Othello as a high and chivalrous Moorish chief. It is not jealousy that causes him to destroy Desdemona, but his "solemn agony" at the thought that the woman whom he had believed angelic should be proved untrue.

Certain likenesses are found in the early dramatic criticism of Coleridge and that of Schlegel, which are referred to the parallel intellectual development of the two critics. The English writer's sympathetic temperament, receptivity, and points of contact with the Romantic school, rendered him peculiarly susceptible to the philosophic and aesthetic doctrines of Lessing, Winckelmann, Herder, Schiller, Kant, Schelling and Richter. During his year in Germany, moreover, he studied under Schlegel's masters, and breathed in the air of the same scholarly circle.—drew in with his very breath indeed,—the new critical ideas

and Massinger in the same way: so as to see, and to be able to prove, what of Shakespeare belonged to his age, and was common to all the *first-rate men* of that true *saeculum aureum* of English poetry, and what is his own and his only. Thus I shall both exhibit the characteristics of the plays and of the mind of Shakespeare, and a philosophical analysis and justification of almost every character, at greater or less length, in the spirit of that analysis of the character of Hamlet, with which you were much pleased."—*Memorials of Coleridge*, I, 47-8.

of Germany. But by way of final emphasis and summary, let us repeat, although he realized in a more or less vague way, the principles which are the fruit of these ideas, yet he had not thus far succeeded in reducing them to verbal form. In Schlegel's *Vorlesungen*, he discovered their clear and lucid expression. His former preparation revealed to him their identity with his own, and he immediately signified his entire agreement with them by extensive appropriations in phrase as well as in idea. The similarity in words is not so apparent in the first lectures after he has seen Schlegel as in the later ones. This is explained by the fact that he was in the midst of his course (1811-12), and therefore had not time to incorporate the thoughts of the German critic so completely into the course as he did later.

The chapters¹¹⁴ in which Schlegel lays down his philosophic and aesthetic principles of criticism are almost wholly borrowed by Coleridge, as is also the German writer's interpretation of the Greek drama, and his general discussion of the unities. Certain illustrations, figures of speech, and touches in character-appreciation are also appropriated,—the source always unacknowledged, and indeed denied.

Coleridge has leniently been called the transmitter of German doctrines in criticism as well as in philosophy.¹¹⁵ He has been judged, and rightly, perhaps, by the suggestive and fruitful influence of those doctrines upon English criticism, doctrines into which he, no doubt, transfused something of his own fine poetic insight. And suggestive and fruitful they have been, though presented to the world in fragments and mere hints. Through them an important phase of the intellectual wealth of Germany was opened to Englishmen, and English critical activity enriched beyond all measure.

Yet the present investigation shows that Coleridge is indebted to Schlegel for most of his principles of criticism¹¹⁶ and

¹¹⁴ The Lectures of Schlegel from which Coleridge borrowed the most extensively are Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 25-31. Schlegel, V-VI.

¹¹⁵ Wylie; *Evolution of English Criticism*, 164-5.

¹¹⁶ It may be contended that Coleridge borrowed from Schlegel only the *compression* of his principles of criticism, not the principles themselves, and that he had all the material from which to deduce them. This is true in part; but if Schlegel's *Vorlesungen* had not fallen into the hands of Coleridge, it is very highly improbable that those principles would ever have been enunciated, or would the lectures he might have delivered without the German critic's aid have been worth much in the progress of English literary criticism.

for other material amounting to no inconsiderable number of pages, and though, to a certain extent, he may have borrowed unconsciously, he is nevertheless censurable for indifference to the property of others. To Schlegel must be given the credit of first definitely formulating the critical doctrines of the Romantic school,¹¹⁷ as found in the *Vorlesungen*, and as borrowed by Coleridge, always remembering, however, that Lessing and other German writers first blazed the way for Schlegel, and also prepared Coleridge to follow him with unfaltering step.

¹¹⁷ Wylie; *Evolution of English Criticism*, 150-1.

APPENDIX.

The Appendix contains references to parallel passages which have been designated as historical coincidences because the similarity appears to be due rather to using the same sources than to direct borrowing on the part of the Coleridge;—additional references on points quoted in Chapter III, which the English critic seems fond of appropriating;—also others to parallels in character-appreciation which were not felt to be borrowings, except in a few instances noted in their respective places;—two or three to discussions, which because of their very extended nature, could not well be quoted at length, and a small number of minor borrowings of a nature trivial enough to exclude them from the serious consideration of literary indebtedness.

A complete table of coincidences and borrowings from each series of lectures would have necessitated many repetitions of practically the same ideas, since Coleridge repeated himself to large degree in later courses. Only such, therefore, have been noted as would serve to convey some idea of the extent of Coleridge's borrowings for each series, taken. it is understood, in conjunction with those quoted in full in Chapter III of this work.

LECTURES OF 1808.

Robinson, Diary, etc., I, 140. The statement of Coleridge that comedy arises from a natural sense of ridicule, is also found in Schlegel, but it is not expressed in the same way, nor in the same connection. Other likenesses in this course are such as result from using the same sources. For example, in dealing with the origin of the Greek drama, it would be impossible not to state the same facts, just as in different histories are found parallels, yet no one would think of calling them borrowings, or even coin-

Schlegel, August Wilhelm von. *Sämmtliche Werke*. Leipzig, 1846. 12 Vols. in 6.

Traill, Henry Duff. *Coleridge*. New York, 1884.

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